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SELECTION

OF

ORATIONS AND EULOGIES,

PRONOUNCED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE
UNITED STATES,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LIFE, VIRTUES,
AND PRE-EMINENT SERVICES OF

Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Who Died, at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799;
in the 68th year of his age.

" O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!—
" Never come ſuch diviſion 'tween our ſouls!—
" We ne'er ſhall look upon his like again!"

SHAKESPEAR.

AMHERST: PRINTED BY SAMUEL PRESTON.
1800.

CAPS

AN ORATION,

Pronounced at Philadelphia, in the German Lutheran Church, December 26th, 1799, at the requeſt of the United States, in Congreſs aſſembled.

BY MAJ. GEN. HENRY LEE.

IN obedience to your* will, I riſe, your humble organ, with a hope of executing a part of the ſyſtem of public mourning which you have been pleaſed to adopt, commemorative of the death of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt beloved perſonage this country has ever produced; and which, while it tranſmits to poſterity your ſenſe of the awful event, faintly repreſents your knowledge of the conſummate excellence you ſo cordially honor.

Deſperate indeed is any attempt on earth to meet correſpondently this diſpenſation of Heaven; for while with pious reſignation we ſubmit to the will of an all gracious Providence, we can never ceaſe lamenting in our finite view of Omnipotent Wiſdom, the heart rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world ſhakes to its centre; when every moment gives birth to ſtrange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any ſhare in the ſlaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy,

* The Two Houſes of Congreſs.

and to risk the doleful casualties of war: What limit is there to the extent of our loss?—None within the reach of my words to express; none which your feelings will not disavow.

The founder of our fœderate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more. Oh that this was but questionable! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonized hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope for us; our WASHINGTON is removed forever. Possessing the stoutest frame, and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty-eigth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday, put an end to the best of men. An end, did I say?—his fame survives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts, in the growing knowledge of our children, in the affection of the good throughout the world; and when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far spreading empire shall have perished, still will our WASHINGTON's glory unfaded shine, and die not, until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sink into chaos.

How, my fellow-citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth! Where shall I begin in opening to your view a character throughout sublime. Shall I speak

of his warlike achievements, all ſpringing from obedience to his country's will—all directed to his country's good.

Will you go with me to the Banks of the Monongahela, to ſee your youthful WASHINGTON, ſupporting, in the diſmal hour of Indian victory, the illfated Braddock, and ſaving by his judgment and by his valour, the remains of a defeated army, preſſed by the conquering ſavage foe? Or, when oppreſſed America, nobly reſolved to riſk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congreſs to the command of her armies? Will you follow him to the high grounds of Boſton, where to an undiſciplined, courageous and virtuous yeomanry, his preſence gave the ſtability of ſyſtem, and infuſed the invincibility of love of country: Or ſhall I carry you to the painful ſcenes of Long-Iſland, York-Iſland and New-Jerſey, when combating ſuperior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he ſtood the bulwark of our ſafety; undiſmayed by diſaſter? unchanged by change of fortune. Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks; himſelf unmoved.—Dreadful was the night. It was about this time of winter—The ſtorm raged—the Delaware rolling furiouſly with floating ice, forbade the approach of man. WASHINGTON, ſelf-collected, viewed the tremendous ſcene—his country called; unappalled by ſurrounding dan-

gers, he paſſed to the hoſtile ſhore: He fought, he conquered. The morning ſun cheered the American world. Our country roſe on the event; and her dauntleſs chief purſuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton, what his vaſt ſoul had conceived on the ſhores of Delaware.

Thence to the ſtrong grounds of Morris-Town he led his ſmall but gallant band; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whoſe matchleſs force was meaſurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hoſtile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valour on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell Wolfe, Montcalm, and ſince, our much lamented Montgomery; all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his maſterly conduct, our fathers, ourſelves, animated by his reſiſtleſs example, rallied around our country's ſtandard, and continued to follow her beloved chief through the various and trying ſcenes to which the deſtinies of our union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine—the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth? Every where preſent, wants of every kind obſtructing, numerous and valiant armies encountering, himſelf a hoſt, he aſſuaged our ſufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering Republic. Shall I diſplay to you the ſpread of the fire of his ſoul, by rehearſing the praiſes of the hero of Saratoga, and his much lov'd compeer of the Carolinas? No;

our WASHINGTON wears not borrowed glory: To Gates—to Greene, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit; and long may the chiefs of Saratoga, and of Eutaws, receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and invigorating despondency, until the auspicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the since conqueror of India; thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and in this his last act of war affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle, sweet peace succeeded; and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition; and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great, you must be truly good.

Were I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished—Great as was our WASHINGTON in war, and as much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American Republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous: His va-

rious talents combining all the capacities of a ſtateſman with thoſe of a ſoldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he reſted from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was ſtill ſounding in our ears, when he who had been our ſhield and our ſword, was called forth to act a leſs ſplendid but more important part.

Poſſeſſing a clear and penetrating mind, a ſtrong and ſound judgment, calmneſs and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmneſs and perſeverance in reſolutions maturely formed, drawing information from all, acting from himſelf, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotiſm; his own ſuperiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man deſigned by Heaven, to lead in the great political, as well as military events, which have diſtinguiſhed the æra of his life.

The finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at WASHINGTON, was neither miſtaken nor unobſerved; when, to realize the vaſt hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political ſyſtem became indiſpenſable.

How novel, how grand the ſpectacle! Independent States ſtretched over an immenſe territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their ſafety, deciding by frank compariſon of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reaſon, a common government, through whoſe commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of bleſſings, ſhould be ſafe to themſelves, and the ſure inheritance of their poſterity.

This arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and of patriots, WASHINGTON of course was found; and, as if acknowledged to be most wise, where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labors of himself and his compatriots, the work of their hands and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

But to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its etherial spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a constitution, was showing only, without realizing, the general happiness. This great work remained to be done; and America, steadfast in her preference, with one voice, summoned her beloved WASHINGTON, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burst of joy through our anxious land, on this exhilarating event, is known

to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonſtrations of their gaatitude; and this high-wrought, delightful ſcene was heightened in its effect, by the ſingular conteſt between the zeal of the beſtowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors beſtowed. Commencing his adminiſtration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wiſe principles announced by himſelf, as the baſis of his political life! He beſt underſtood the indiſſoluble union between virtue and happineſs, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and individual felicity; watching with an equal and comprehenſive eye over this great aſſemblage of communities and intereſts, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, baſed on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the reſpect of the world.

"O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona norint!"

Leading through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting intereſts, ſeconded by ſucceeding Houſes of Congreſs, enlightened and patriotic, he ſurmounted all original obſtructions, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

The Preſidential term expiring, his ſolicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned, with a force increaſed with increaſe of age, and

he had prepared his farewel addreſs to his countrymen, proclaiming his intention, when the united interpoſition of all around him, enforced by the eventful proſpects of the epoch, produced a further ſacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of Preſident followed, and WASHINGTON, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to reſume the chief magiſtracy. What a wonderful fixture of confidence! Which attracts moſt our admiration, a people ſo correct, or a citizen combining an aſſemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and ſtifling even envy itſelf? Such a nation ought to be happy, ſuch a chief muſt be forever revered.

War, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict, deluging Europe with blood, began to ſhed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the firſt, outſtretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American Eagle ſoared triumphant through diſtant foreſts. Peace followed victory, and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. Godlike virtue, which uplifts even the ſubdued ſavage.

To the ſecond he oppoſed himſelf. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the ſtake. Soon did his penetrating mind diſcern and ſeize the only courſe, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He iſſued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole ſubſequent conduct, was ſanctioned by the approbation of both Houſes of Congreſs, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this ſublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intruſion, unſhaken by domeſtic turbulence.

" Juſtem et tenacem propoſiti virum,
" Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
" Non vultus inſtantis tyranni,
" Mente quatit ſolida."

Maintaining his pacific ſyſtem at the expence of no duty, America, faithful to herſelf, and unſtained in her honor, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter, under the accumulated miſeries of an unexampled war; miſeries in which our happy country muſt have ſhared, had not our pre-eminent WASHINGTON been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

Purſuing ſteadfaſtly his courſe, he held ſafe the public happineſs, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal diſcord, till the revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted but inextinguiſhable deſire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

The promulgation of his fixed reſolution ſtopped the anxious wiſhes of an affectionate people from adding a third unanimous teſtimonial of their unabated confidence in the man ſo long enthroned in their hearts. When before was affection like this exhibited on earth?—Turn over the records of ancient Greece—Review the annals of mighty Rome—Examine the volumes of modern Europe; you ſearch in vain. America, and her WASHINGTON, only afford the dignified exemplification.

The illuſtrious perſonage called by the national voice in ſucceſſion to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter: The amicable effort of ſettling our difficulties with France, begun by WASHINGTON, and purſued by his ſucceſſor in virtue as in ſtation, proving abortive, America took meaſures of ſelf-defence. No ſooner was the public mind rouſed by a proſpect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though ſecluded from public view, and grey in public ſervice. The virtuous veteran, following his plough,* received the unexpected ſummons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill-treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to riſk his all in her defence.

The annunciation of theſe feelings in his affecting letter to the Preſident, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

Firſt in war, firſt in peace, and firſt in the hearts of his countrymen, he was ſecond to none in the humble and endearing ſcenes of private life: Pious, juſt, humane, temperate, and ſincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him as were the effects of that example laſting.

To his equals he was condeſcending; to his inferiors kind; and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender: Correct throughout, vice ſhuddered in his preſence, and virtue always felt his foſtering hand; the purity of

* General WASHINGTON, though opulent, gave much of his time to practical agriculture.

his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His laſt ſcene comported with the whole tenor of his life: Although in extreme pain, not a ſigh, not a groan eſcaped him; and with undiſturbed ſerenity he cloſed his well ſpent life. Such was the man America has loſt! Such was the man for whom our nation mourns!

Methinks I ſee his auguſt image, and hear, falling from his venerable lips, theſe deep-ſinking words:

"CEASE, Sons of AMERICA, lamenting our ſeparation: Go on, and confirm by your wiſdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers. Reverence religion; diffuſe knowledge throughout your land; patronize the arts and ſciences; let Liberty and Order be inſeparable companions; control party ſpirit, the bane of free government; obſerve good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations; ſhut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connexion; rely on yourſelves only—Be Americans in thought and deed. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the conſtant object of my terreſtrial labors: Thus will you preſerve undiſturbed to the lateſt poſterity, the felicity of a people to me moſt dear; and thus will you ſupply (if my happineſs is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliſs high Heaven beſtows."

AN EULOGY,

Pronounced before the Inhabitants of the Town of Boſton, January 9th, 1800, at the requeſt of their Committee.

BY GEORGE R. MINOT, A. M. A. A. S.

OUR duty, my Fellow-Townſmen, on this diſtreſſing occaſion, is dictated by the dignity and reſplendent virtue of the beloved Man, whoſe death we deplore. We aſſemble to pay a debt to departed merit, a debt which we can only pay by the ſincerity of our grief, and the reſpectful effuſions of gratitude; for the higheſt eulogy left us to beſtow upon our lamented WASHINGTON, is the ſtrict narration of the truth, and the loftieſt character which we can aſſign to him, is the very diſplay of himſelf. When ambition allies itſelf to guilt, when power tramples upon right, when victory triumphs in blood, when piety ſits clouded in ſuperſtition, when humility is affected by cunning, when patriotiſm is founded on ſelfiſhneſs; then let adulation ſpread her proſtituted mantle, to ſcreen the diſgraces of her patrons, and amuſe with the falſehoods of her imagination. But to our political Father, the faithful page of hiſtory is panegyric, and the happineſs of his country is the monument of his fame.

Come, then, Warriors! Stateſmen! Philoſophers! Citizens! aſſemble round the tomb of

this favorite ſon of virtue; with all the luxury of ſorrow, recollect the important events of his life, and partake of the greateſt legacy which a mortal could bequeath you, in the contemplation of his example. Whilſt we ſolemnize this act, his diſembodied ſpirit, if it be permitted to retrace the ſcenes of its terreſtrial exiſtence, will ſmile with approbation on the inſtructive rite.

Your anniverſaries have long honored the eleventh of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two, as the birth day of our illuſtrious Chief, and the pariſh of his own name in Weſtmoreland county, in Virginia, boaſts itſelf the place of his nativity. But to ſouls like his, local reſtrictions are not attached. Where liberty was, there would be his country: Happy for us, the Genius of Liberty, reſponſive to his affections, reſolved that where WASHINGTON was, there alſo ſhould be her abode.

Educated by private inſtruction, his virtue grew with his knowledge, and the uſeful branches of literature, occupied the whole powers of his mind. Exemplary for ſolidity of thought, and chaſtity of morals, he was honored by the government of Virginia, with an important miſſion, at an age when the levities of the human character ſeldom yield to the earlieſt operation of reaſon.

At the opening of the great war of encroachments upon our weſtern frontiers, he was the bearer of the remonſtrance to the French. Such was the addreſs, fidelity and perſeverance, with which he executed this important truſt, that he was honored at twenty-two years of age,

with the command of a regiment raiſed by his province. His military talents were ſoon called to the teſt. At Redſtone, Victory perched upon his ſtandard; but with that volatility by which ſhe tries the powers of her favorite heroes, ſhe in a few months afterwards left him, by his own exertions, to ſave the honors of war for his little band, in an unequal, but well-ſupported battle. In Braddock's ſlaughtered army, he was a witneſs to ſcenes of horror, which his caution, had it been adopted, would have prevented, and which his ſteady courage aſſiſted much to retrieve. During the remainder of this war, he was employed in fortifying his native province, in arranging and perfecting its militia, and in checking the incurſions of the enemy, until the criſis of the conteſt had paſſed in this country, when he reſigned his command.

Retirement to him was only a different mode of action, and his repoſe partook not of indolence. Amidſt the honorable purſuits of agriculture, he diſcharged various civil offices, until we find him riſing amongſt the patriots of our country, as a delegate from Virginia, in the firſt American Congreſs.

We ſhall ever remember the fifteenth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, when Providence directed to his appointment as the commander in chief of our revolutionary army. In this neighborhood he firſt drew his ſword. Many of you, my Fellow-Townſmen, were then languiſhing under the fetters of tyranny, or were impriſoned within the joyleſs confines of your own habitations.

Your hope was fixed on him. His command, independent of the reſources of his own mind, afforded no ground for the ſupport of your feelings. He had an army brave indeed, but with little diſcipline; naked, at the approach of winter; and almoſt ſubject to diſſolution from temporary enliſtments; a paymaſter without money; a commiſſary ſtruggling on the utmoſt ſtretch of credit. A veteran army lay under his eye, ſtrongly fortified, regularly paid, warmly clothed, and boaſting its ſuperiority to militia. Yet did his victorious ſword relieve you, and ſave your city. Juſtly have you aſcribed "your reinſtatement to his wiſe arrangements, which compelled your invaders to adopt a leſs deſtructive policy than that which on other occaſions they ſo wantonly practiſed." Could our gratitude forget it, the heights around us bear the triumphant evidence of his conqueſt.

To trace this protector of our liberties through his unrivalled career, from his gloomy retreat through the Jerſies to his ſeveral victories and his ſplendid triumph at York-Town, would be to narrate the varying hiſtory of our revolution. To him, public labor was amuſement, ſuffering in the cauſe of freedom was a luxury, and every hour as it flew carried an offering to his country.

As obedience to the voice of his oppreſſed fellow-citizens drew his ſword on the approach of war; ſo at the declaration of peace, by the ſame reſpected voice, he reſtored it to its ſcabbard. He left them his bleſſing and their liberties. O Human Nature, how haſt thou been

traduced! With thee, has it been ſaid, is eſſentially connected that luſt of power which is inſatiable; which reſtores not voluntarily what has been committed to its charge; which devours all rights, and reſolves all laws into its own authority; which labors not for others, but ſeizes the fruits of their labors for itſelf; which breaks down all barriers of religion, ſociety and nature that obſtruct its courſe; now art thou vindicated! Here we behold thee allied to virtue, worn in the ſervice of mankind, ſuperior to the meanneſs of compenſation, humbly hoping for the thanks of thy country alone, faithfully ſurrendering the ſword, with which thou waſt entruſted, and yielding up power with a promptneſs and facility equalled only by the diffidence and reluctance with which thou receivedſt it.

Now, will the future inquirer ſay, this Hero has finiſhed the taſk aſſigned him; the meaſure of his glory is full. A world is admitted to freedom—a nation is born. Favored beyond the leader of Iſrael, not only with the proſpect, but with the fruition of the promiſed bleſſing, he has retired, like that prince of meekneſs, to the *Mount*, whence he is to aſcend, unſeen by a weeping people, to the reward of all his labors. No, he is to live another life upon this globe; he is to reap a double harveſt in the field of perennial honor. The people whom he has ſaved from external tyranny, ſuffer from the agitations of their own unſettled powers. The tree of liberty which he has planted, and ſo carefully guarded from the ſtorms, now flouriſhes beyond its ſtrength, its lofty excreſ-

cences threaten to tear its leſs extended roots from the earth, and to proſtrate it fruitleſs on the plain. But, he comes! In Convention he preſides over counſels, as in war he had led the battle. The Conſtitution like the rainbow after the flood, appears to us, now juſt emerging from an overwhelming commotion; and we know the truth of the pledge from the ſanction of his name.

The production was worthy of its authors, and of the magnanimous people whom it was intended to eſtabliſh. You adopt it, you cheriſh it, and you reſolve to tranſmit it, with the name of WASHINGTON, to the lateſt generation, who ſhall prove their juſt claim to ſuch an illuſtrious deſcent.

Who was ſo worthy, as our great legiſlator, to direct the operations of a government which his counſels and his ſword had laboured to erect? By a unanimous ſuffrage he was invited to the exalted ſtation of Preſident of the United States. The call was too ſacred to admit of doubt: It ſuperceded the happineſs of retirement, the demands of private intereſt, the ſweet attractions of domeſtic ſociety, and the hazard (forgive it, WASHINGTON! for thou waſt mortal) the hazard of public reputation. Behold the man on this occaſion ſo mighty in the eye of all the world, ſo humble in his own! He accepts the high appointment, with ſuch diſtruſt of his natural endowments, with ſuch diffidence in his capacity, as can be relieved only by his reliance on that almighty BEING, "who rules over the univerſe, who preſides in the coun-

cils of nations, and whoſe providential aids can ſupply every human defect."

One of the earlieſt acts of his adminiſtration was that circular viſit to transfuſe his love, and receive the grateful benedictions of his loving countrymen, in which you, my Fellow-Townſmen, partook ſo liberal a ſhare. What ſenſations ruſhed upon your minds, when you compared the dreadful aſpect of your beſieged city, with its now ſmiling condition. The well cultivated fields were ſcreening from view the late terrific ramparts of the enemy, and the groans of the diſtreſſed had yielded to the buſy noiſe of commerce and pleaſure. How grateful now is the recollection, that with tears of joy you crowded to meet him in your ſtreets, diſplaying the very inſignia which you this day bear in mournful proceſſion; and your children bowing their heads with eager ſolicitude to attract his fatherly eye, recieved his pious bleſſing.

Did the occaſion admit of it, how pleaſing would be the review of his adminiſtration, as our Supreme Executive Magiſtrate! His talents and his virtues increaſed with his cares. His ſoul ſeemed not to bear the limits of office, a moment after the obligations of duty and patriotiſm withdrew their reſtraints from his univerſal love. When the miſguided ſavages of the wilderneſs, after feeling his chaſtiſement, had ſued for peace, he ſeemed to labor for their happineſs as the common repreſentative of mankind. Inſurrection was ſo ſtruck at his countenance, that it fled from the ſhock of his arms. In-

trigue attempted to entangle him in her poiſonous web, but he burſt it with gigantic ſtrength, and cruſhed her labors. Anarchy looked out from her cavern, and was daſhed into oblivion, as we truſt forever. The nations of Europe ſaw the wiſdom of our laws, the vigor of our meaſures, the juſtice of our policy, the firmneſs of our government, and acquieſced in the neutrality of our ſtation.

The dangers of the Commonwealth having ſubſided at the cloſe of his ſecond adminiſtration, he felt himſelf juſtified, after dedicating forty-five years of his valuable life to her ſervice, in withdrawing to receive with reſignation the great change of nature, which his age and his toils demonſtrated to be near. When he declined your future ſuffrages, he left you a legacy. What! like Ceſar's to the Romans, money for your ſports? Like Attalus's, a kingdom for your tyranny? No; he left you not ſuch baubles, nor for ſuch purpoſes. He left you the records of wiſdom for your government: a mirror for the faithful repreſentation to your own view, of yourſelves, your weakneſſes, your advantages, your dangers: a magnet which points to the ſecret mines and windings of party ſpirit, faction, foreign influence: a pillar to the unity of your republic: a band to incloſe, conciliate, and ſtrengthen the whole of your wonderful and almoſt boundleſs communities. Read, preſerve the ſacred depoſit; and leſt poſterity ſhould forget the truth of its maxims, engrave them on his tomb, that they may read them when they weep before it.

In his ſecond reſignation of power and the charms of office, the American Leader appears ſuperior to ancient or modern examples. Yet another grade was aſſigned to his virtue. Our national rights, ſo well defended at home, were invaded on the ocean. The alarm reaches his retreat; the honor of our republic warms his heart; and he again accepts the ſword for its defence from the hand of another, placed by the voice of the people in that ſupreme magiſtracy, which he alone had heretofore filled. With a leſs dignified ſoul, this official inferiority might have availed to injure his country; but he, who could deſcend from the head of a nation to diſcharge the minuteſt duties of a private citizen, was too great to allow the influence of etiquette to endanger the ſafety of the people. His condeſcenſion raiſes him above himſelf; his ſpirit fires all ranks of men; he is overwhelmed with the gratitude and applauſe of an enraptured nation.

Whilſt we confide in his arm, and are marſhalling our warriors to march under his banners, the GOD of armies, whoſe counſels are beyond the ſcrutiny of man, prepares for us the teſt of our ſubmiſſion to his chaſtiſing rod. It is decreed that our WASHINGTON ſhall die, but that his death ſhall be worthy of his life. He is to die by the hand of Virtue. The rapid diſeaſe which is ſelected as the inſtrument of his diſſolution, inſtantaneouſly ſeizes him. His humanity delays the immediate aid to which alone it may yield. Inconſolable domeſtics! what ſtorms would you not have braved, what

hazards would you not have encountered, to ſave that life which was ſacrificed to your comfort and ſafety! At length Science flies to ſave him. Alas! what avails its ſkill againſt the mandate of Heaven? It comes to late!——It is finiſhed.

Wonderful event! Greatneſs departs in glory, and envy is ſilent! All acknowledge him to be the firſt of citizens, and none feel hurt by his ſuperiority. So impartial was he that none impeach his juſtice; ſo moderate, none complain of his power; ſo magnanimous, his conquered enemies applaud his humanity; ſo philanthropic, that neither color, nor climate, nor religion, nor politics, could exclude the unfortunate from his ſuccour. He had the habit of combining ſentiment with action in ſuch method and force, that he ſhed his benevolence on communities of men with the ſame eaſe as the ſudden impulſe of momentary ſenſibility beſtows it upon individuals. Unexampled virtue! allotted to its merited reward. Many founders of nations have been left to obtain from poſterity that reputation which prejudice or bigotry has denied at their deaths. The tomb has been neceſſary to bury anger, petty intereſts and emulation, which barred an equitable judgment. But in regard to this Sage, the gratitude of his country has been co-exiſtent with his exertions. Time has not been required to remove him from our view, in order to magnify his exploits through the medium of fame; nor was it requiſite that we ſhould be deprived of the good he had done

us, to entertain a juſt ſenſe of its importance. Medals and ſtatues have been decreed him when living, and your tears announce his greater triumph in your hearts, when dead. Diſintereſted love! What motives have you, freemen, for thus offering up your applauſe? He has now no ſhield to defend you from the invaſions of your enemies; his head lies cold in the grave, and no counſel can ariſe from his lips. His eyes were cloſed by his own unſhaken hand, and no ſmile can now beam from his countenance to animate your troops. Grateful Republicans! indeed you weep not from ſelfiſhneſs. Afflicted with the thought of the bleſſings which he has ſhowered upon yourſelves and your children, you would call him, could your voice be heard, from the cloſed manſions of the dead, again to receive the tribute of your affection. You weep for her, whoſe tender participation in the anxieties of a huſband relieved his cares, and protracted the invaluable life which love itſelf could no longer detain. Diſconſolate woman! mourn not, for the faithful is gone to receive the reward of his uprightneſs. The whole deſire of his heart, the whole purſuit of his labors has been the good of his fellow-men. Contraſt him with thoſe who have been raiſed by the empty, the criminal admiration of mankind, to the higheſt ranks in the Pantheon of fame. See one inſtead of liberating and protecting, employed in conquering and enſlaving a world, and weeping that his guilty taſk could be continued no longer. Another retiring from the

purple, not with the united bleſſings of all religious ſects, but the bigoted perſecuter of the only rational and divine religion: See the maſter of ſo many crowns, after yielding them up for a convent, inſtead of intereſting himſelf in the welfare of mankind to the hour of his departure, relapſing into the abſurdities of monkiſh ſuperſtition; and another, whoſe aſhes are ſcarcely cold, ſlaughtering the armies of half the nations of Europe, to extend the limits of an electorate, with as much zeal as our departed hero labored to extend the limits of freedom, civilization and morals. When ſo much worth ſteps off from the ſtage of life, the weakneſs of our nature is the only apology for our tears. Such an exit is not death, it is the triumph of the juſt.

Sons of Freedom! as you regard the memmory of your aſcended Chief, attend to the injunctions of his will. Remember that it was not for you alone he labored. It was for your poſterity alſo; it was for the human race. For you and for them he was firſt in building the nobleſt political ſyſtem that adorns the world. It is an experiment to aſcertain the nature of man; whether he be capable of freedom, or whether he muſt be led by the reins of tyranny; whether he be endowed with that moderation and underſtanding which checks the extreme indulgence of his will; and by allowing to others the ſame rational enjoyment with himſelf, forms the liberty of the whole upon the partial reſtraint of each individual; or whether he muſt go on attempting to follow the dic-

tates of ſelfiſhneſs, and find his only reſtraint in a power which will eſtabliſh itſelf independent of his conſent, and make him its ſlave. Who of us can be ſuppoſed to be ſo loſt to himſelf, ſo forgetful of his children, and ſo traitorous to the world, as to contemplate the overthrow of this magnificent temple of wiſdom? No, my Fellow Townſmen, whatever zeal may ſuddenly ſuggeſt, or apprehenſions tempt us to ſuſpect, there lives not a man among us; ſo depraved, ſo curſed by Heaven. Shall it be ſaid, that the works of his hands whom we this day almoſt adore; that the hope which he held out to the nations of the earth, ſhall be fruſtrated by our diviſions? To the honor of our country, not a man but anſwers, No: All, when rightly informed, wave their particular prejudices in ſupport of the great pillar of our national union. It is our pride; it was erected by our fathers it is the ſtandard of our defence. Let us then, with a view of forever maintaining it, baniſh all animoſity, melt down all parties, wipe away all diſtinctions. Let us no longer deſignate men who have differed in ſentiment, by odious epithets mutually reflected and mutually diſavowed: But if a common name be wanted, let it be formed from his whom we now ſeek to honor, and let it be uſed to denote good will to one another, reſpect to our Conſtitution, fortitude to our enemies, love to our country, devotion to our GOD.

In the condolence of this day, we cannot fail to notice the honor which we feel by the preſence of the Fathers of the State. It was not

unbecoming the dignity of office, on such an occaſion, to ſuſpend its occupations and join the general ſorrow. To devote this portion of time to his memory, who devoted a long life to our happineſs, is rational and juſt. Within the preſent political year, you, Honorable Magiſtrates and Legiſlators, in this place ſolemnized the obſequies of the late excellent Governor of our Commonwealth, the much reſpected SUMNER. Thus paſs away the wiſe, the virtuous, and the faithful; by an irrevocable decree, leſs unwelcome to them, as it reſpects themſelves, than grievous to us. Their lives are long enough for their own glory, but, alas! ſtill too neceſſary to their country's welfare. The experience, the learning, the genius, the various coincidence of circumſtances, which are neceſſary to form that effulgence of character, by which they enlighten, poliſh and direct ſociety, fall to the lot of few. When ſuch lamps are extinguiſhed, we are happy if our darkneſs be tranſient. But in your wiſdom the people of our Commonwealth ſafely confide; nor as members of our united country, do they mourn like thoſe who are without hope; for although in the preſent gloom of our political hemiſphere, their late ruling planet has travelled to the morning of another clime, yet its kindred luminary riſes on the horizon, brilliant, ſteady, and propitious to direct their courſe. They lament that their beloved WASHINGTON ſleeps in death; their conſolation is, that his faithful Brother, the vigilant ADAMS, ſurvives.

AN ORATION,

Pronounced at Boſton, February 8th, 1800, before His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the Council, and the Two Branches of the Legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts, at their requeſt.

BY FISHER AMES, A. M.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind ſhould be drawn to their benefactors. A number of theſe have ſucceſſively ariſen, who were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the elevation of their virtues, than the luſtre of their talents. Of thoſe however, who were born, and who acted through life, as if they were born, not for themſelves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few alas! are recorded in the long annals of ages, and how wide the intervals of time and ſpace that divide them. In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or ſix light-houſes on as many thouſand miles of coaſt: They gleam upon the ſurrounding darkneſs, with an inextinguiſhable ſplendor, like ſtars ſeen through a miſt; but they are ſeen like ſtars, to cheer, to guide, and to ſave. WASHINGTON is now added to that ſmall number. Already he attracts curioſity, like a newly diſcovered ſtar, whoſe benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's fartheſt bounds. Already his name is hung up by hiſtory as conſpicuouſly, as if it ſparkled in one of the conſtellations of the ſky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confeſs the common debt of mankind as well as our own; and to pronounce for poſterity, now dumb, that elogium, which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I conſider myſelf not merely in the midſt of the citizens of this town, or even of the State. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vaſt and venerable congregation of the patriots of all countries and of all enlightened men, I would if I could, raiſe my voice, and ſpeak to mankind in a ſtrain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my ſubject. But how ſhall I expreſs emotions, that are condemned to be mute, becauſe they are unutterable? I felt, and I was witneſs, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throes of that grief, that ſaddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow labored for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the conſolation of other men's tears. Gracious Heaven! what conſolation! each face was convulſed with ſorrow for the paſt; every heart ſhivered with diſpair for the future. The man, who and who alone, united all hearts, was dead; dead, at the moment when his power to do good was the greateſt, and when the aſpect of the imminent public dangers ſeemed more than ever to render his aid indiſpenſable, and his loſs irreparable: irreparable; for two WASHINGTONS come not in one age.

A grief ſo thoughtful, ſo profound, ſo mingled with tenderneſs and admiration, ſo interwoven with our national ſelf-love, ſo often revived by being diffuſed, is not to be expreſſed. You have aſſigned me a taſk that is impoſſible.

O if I could perform it, if I could illuſtrate his principles in my diſcourſe as he diſplayed them in his life, if I could paint his virtues as he practiſed them, if I could convert the fervid enthuſiaſm of my heart into the talent to tranſmit his fame, as it ought to paſs to poſterity; I ſhould be the ſucceſsful organ of your will, the miniſter of his virtues, and may I dare to ſay, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. Theſe are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I rejeſt them. For it is perhaps almoſt as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praiſe great actions, as to perform them. A laviſh and undiſtinguiſhing elogium is not praiſe; and to diſcriminate ſuch excellent qualities as were characteriſtic and peculiar to him, would be to raiſe a name, as he raiſed it, above envy, above parallel, perhaps, for that very reaſon, above emulation.

Such a portraying of character however, muſt be addreſſed to the underſtanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would ſeem to be rather an analyſis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero's exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and eſteem, than kindle enthuſiaſm and admiration. It would be a picture of WASHINGTON, and, like a picture, flat as the canvas; like a ſtatue, cold as the marble on which he is repreſented; cold, alas,

as his corpſe in the ground. Ah, how unlike the man late warm with living virtues, animated by the ſoul once glowing with patriotic fires! He is gone! the tomb hides all, that the world could ſcarce contain, and that once was WASHINGTON, except his glory; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country; and his example; *that* let us endeavor by delineating to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, wiſdom in her treaſury.

Peace then to your ſorrows. I have done with them. Deep as your grief is, I aim not to be pathetic. I deſire leſs to give utterance to the feelings of this age, than to the judgment of the next. Let us faithfuly repreſent the illuſtrious dead, as hiſtory will paint, as poſterity will behold him.

With whatever fidelity I might execute this taſk, I know that ſome would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our WASHINGTON repreſented of a giant's ſize, and in the character of a hero of romance. They who love to wonder better than to reaſon, would not be ſatisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unleſs, in the exhibition, it ſhould be ſo diſtorted into prodigy, as to be both incredible and uſeleſs. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even WASHINGTON ſhould think with as much dignity and elevation, as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the ſearch for mean and ſelfiſh motives, that could incite and ſuſtain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not these suggestions sound in your ears like a profanation of virtue? And, while I pronounce them, do you not feel a thrill of indignation at your hearts? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a strict scrutiny: The world in passing the judgment that is never to be reversed, will deny all partiality, even to the name of WASHINGTON. Let it be denied; for its justice will confer glory.

Such a life as WASHINGTON's cannot derive honor from the circumstances of birth and education, though it throws back a lustre upon both. With an inquisitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, and was unclouded by passions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age, unparalleled in youth. Perhaps no young man had so early laid up a life's stock of materials for solid reflection, or settled so soon the principles and habits of his conduct. Grey experience listened to his counsels with respect, and at a time when youth is almost privileged to be rash, Virginia committed the safety of her frontier, and ultimately the safety of America, not merely to his valor, for that would be scarcely praise; but to his prudence.

It is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambushes, the suddenness of his onset, or the ferocity of his vengeance. The soul of WASHINGTON was thus exercised to danger; and on the first trial, as on every other, it appeared

firm in adverſity, cool in action, undaunted, ſelf poſſeſſed. His ſpirit and ſtill more his prudence, on the occaſion of Braddock's defeat, diffuſed his name throughout America, and acroſs the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her moſt hopeful ſon.

At the peace of 1763, Great-Britain, in conſequence of her victories, ſtood in a poſition to preſcribe her own terms. She choſe, perhaps, better for us than for herſelf: for by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hoſtile neighbors; and we ſoon found juſt cauſe to be afraid of our protectors. We diſcerned even then a truth, which the conduct of France has ſince ſo ſtrongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak ſtates can give, that will ſatisfy ſtrong allies for their aid, but authority. Nations that want protectors, will have maſters. Our ſettlements no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly increaſed; and it was diſcovered, that America was growing to a ſize that could defend itſelf.

In this perhaps, unforeſeen, but at length obvious ſtate of things, the Britiſh Government conceived a jealouſy of the Colonies, of which, and of their intended meaſures of precaution, they made no ſecret.

Thus it happened, that their foreſight of the evil aggravated its ſymptoms, and accelerated its progreſs. The coloniſts perceived that they could not be governed, as before, by affection; and reſolved that they would not be governed

by force. Nobly reſolved! for had we ſubmitted to the Britiſh claims of right, we ſhould have had, if any, leſs than our ancient liberty; and held what might have been left by a worſe tenure.

Our nation, like its great leader, had only to take counſel from its courage. When WASHINGTON heard the voice of his country in diſtreſs, his obedience was prompt; and though his ſacrifices were great, they coſt him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan, permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our hiſtory is but a tranſcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear teſtimony, that they are claims not to be ſatisfied. When overmatched by numbers; a fugitive, with a little band of faithful ſoldiers; the States as much exhauſted as diſmayed; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there reſources to retrieve our affairs. We have ſeen him diſplay as much valor as gives fame to heroes, and as conſummate prudence as inſures ſucceſs to valor; fearleſs of dangers that were perſonal to him; heſitating and cautious, when they affected his country; prefering fame before ſafety or repoſe; and duty, before fame.

Rome did not owe more to Fabius, than America to WASHINGTON. Our nation ſhares with him the ſingular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildneſs, and a revolution, with order.

The event of that war ſeemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its

Chief. Until that conteſt, a great part of the civilized world had been ſurpriſingly ignorant of the force and character, and almoſt of the exiſtence, of the Britiſh Colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curioſity to know the ſtate of thirteen wretched ſettlements, which vaſt woods incloſed, and ſtill vaſter woods divided from each other. They did not view the coloniſts ſo much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and ſolitude, and intermixture with the ſavages, had made barbarians. Great-Britain, they ſaw, was elate with her victories: Europe ſtood in awe of her power: Her arms made the thrones of the moſt powerful unſteady, and diſturbed the tranquility of their States, with an agitation more extenſive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to ſhake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hoſtility was felt to the extremities of the world. It reached to both the Indies; in the wilds of Africa, it obſtructed the commerce in ſlaves; the whales, finding, in time of war, a reſpite from their purſuers, could venture to ſport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

At this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire under Trajan, ſuddenly, aſtoniſhed Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, ſtand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was ſo unequal, all expected it would be ſhort. The events of that war were ſo many miracles, that

attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final ſucceſs exalted their admiration to its higheſt point: They allowed to WASHINGTON all that is due to tranſcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They conſidered us as a race of WASHINGTONS, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and diſtorting all their repreſentations, aſſiſted to eſtabliſh the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practiſe induſtry, amidſt the abundance that requires none; that we have morals ſo refined, that we do not need laws; and though we have them, yet we ought to conſider their execution as an inſult and a wrong; that we have virtue without weakneſſes, ſentiment without paſſions, and liberty without factions. Theſe illuſions, in ſpite of their abſurdity, and, perhaps, becauſe they are abſurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the malecontents againſt the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such illuſions are too ſoothing to vanity, to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans.

They have been pernicious, as they cheriſh falſe ideas of the rights of men and the duty of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty where it is not; and to conſider the government, which is its caſtle, as its priſon.

WASHINGTON retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He

left his countrymen to their ſimplicity and their paſſions, and their glory ſoon departed. Europe began to be undeceived, and it ſeemed for a time, as if by the acquiſition of independence, our citizens were diſappointed. The Confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the States, to eſtabliſh juſtice, to inſure the tranquility, and provide for the ſecurity, of the nation;" and accordingly, union was a name that ſtill commanded reverence, though not obedience. The ſyſtem called juſtice was, in ſome of the States, iniquity reduced to elementary principles; and the public tranquility was ſuch a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the exploſion of an earthquake. Moſt of the States then were in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reaſon, it is true, ſpoke audibly in their conſtitutions; paſſion and prejudice louder in their laws. It is to the honor of Maſſachuſetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles. Its adherence to them was one of the cauſes of a dangerous rebellion. It was ſcarcely poſſible that ſuch governments ſhould not be agitated by parties, and that prevailing parties ſhould not be vindictive and unjuſt. Accordingly, in ſome of the States, creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be perſecutors; and, by the ſhock of all confidence and faith, ſociety was ſhaken to its foundations. Liberty we had; but we dreaded its abuſe almoſt as much as its loſs; and the wiſe, who deplored the one, clearly foreſaw the other.

The States were alſo becoming formidable to each other. Tribute, under the name of impoſt, was for years levied by ſome of the commercial States upon their neighbors. Meaſures of retaliation were reſorted to, and mutual recriminations had begun to whet the reſentments, whoſe never failing progreſs among ſtates is mere injuſtice, vengeance, and war.

The peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already ſharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three ſeparate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progreſs of licentiouſneſs would have ſoon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of them. An age of blood and miſery would have puniſhed our diſunion: But theſe were not the conſiderations to deter ambition from its purpoſe, while there were ſo many circumſtances in our political ſituation to favor it.

At this awful criſis, which all the wiſe ſo much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retroſpect, ſo much more dreadful than their fears; ſome man was wanting, who poſſeſſed a commanding power over the popular paſſions, but over whom thoſe paſſions had no power.—That man was WASHINGTON.

His name, at the head of ſuch a liſt of worthies as would reflect honor on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almoſt all the well-diſpoſed among the leſs informed citizens, and, bleſſed be GOD! the Conſtitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honor of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in ſpite of the obſtacles,

which, in any other country, and perhaps in any other age of *this*, would have been insurmountable; in spite of the doubts and fears, which well meaning prejudice creates for itself, and which party so artfully inflames into stubbornness; in spite of the vice, which it has subjected to restraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in spite of the oligarchies in some of the States, from whom it snatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happiness: Invaluable! if the retrospect of the dangers we have escaped, shall sufficiently inculcate the principles we have so tardily established. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without suffering much to deepen the impression; for experience brandishes in her school a whip of scorpions, and teaches nations her summary lessons of wisdom by the scars and wounds of their adversity.

The amendments which have been projected in some of the States shew, that in them at least, these lessons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of States, some powerful, others weak, the weakness of the federal union will, sooner or later, encourage, and will not restrain, the ambition and injustice of the members. The weak can no otherwise be strong or safe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect,—which the blind jealousy of the weak States not unfrequently contributes to prolong,—that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever existed.

Although it was impoſſible that ſuch merit as WASHINGTON'S ſhould not produce envy, it was ſcarcely poſſible that, with ſuch a tranſcendent reputation, he ſhould have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimouſly choſen Preſident of the United States.

As a general and a patriot, the meaſure of his glory was already full; there was no fame left for him to excel but his own; and even that taſk, the mightieſt of all his labors, his civil magiſtracy has accompliſhed.

No ſooner did the new government begin its auſpicious courſe, than order ſeemed to riſe out of confuſion. The governments of Europe had ſeen the old Confederation ſinking, ſqualid and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American Republic riſe ſuddenly from the ground, and throwing off its grave clothes, exhibiting the ſtature and proportion of a young giant, refreſhed with ſleep. Commerce and induſtry awoke, and were cheerful at their labors; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of proſperity; and the only fear was, that its progreſs was too rapid, to conſiſt with the purity and ſimplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labors of the Preſident were inceſſant: His exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public ſervice: Able officers were ſelected, only for their merits; and ſome of them remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſucceſsful management of the public buſineſs. Government was adminiſtered with ſuch integrity, with-

out myſtery, and in ſo proſperous a courſe, that it ſeemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence. Though it has made many thouſand malecontents, it has never, by its rigor or injuſtice, made one man wretched.

Such was the ſtate of public affairs; and did it not ſeem perfectly to enſure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens? Did they not, in reſpect to their government and its adminiſtration, poſſeſs their whole heart's deſire? They had ſeen and ſuffered long the want of an efficient conſtitution: They had freely ratified it: They ſaw WASHINGTON, their tried friend, the father of his country, inveſted with its powers. They knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Conſider, for a moment, what a reputation it was: Such as no man ever before poſſeſſed by ſo clear a title, and in ſo high a degree. His fame ſeemed in its purity to exceed even its brightneſs. Office took honor from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition ſtood awed and darkened by his ſhadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man ſo vain as to diſpute precedence with him; or what were the honors that could make the poſſeſſor WASHINGTON's ſuperior. Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the groſs could diſcern in his life the infinite ſuperiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived ſome change in their ideas of greatneſs: The ſplendor of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that WASHINGTON could augment his fame; but they knew

and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

This is not exaggeration: Never was confidence in a man and a chief magiſtrate more widely diffuſed, or more ſolidly eſtabliſhed.

If it had been in the nature of man that we ſhould enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under theſe circumſtances to expect it; but it was impoſſible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will ſeem ſtrange, but it ſcarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free ſtate in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no conteſts, and are not anxious to know how they ſhall uſe it. The ſpirit of diſcontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and ſighs itſelf to reſt. The people ſleep ſoundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They loſe their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable as any other animals: A ſtate of degradation, in which they extort our ſcorn, and engage our pity, for the miſery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a baſe one, and fit only for a ſlave's boſom, that would not bleed freely, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a condition; for liberty with all its parties and agitations is more deſirable than ſlavery. Who would not prefer the republics of ancient Greece, where liberty once ſubſiſted in its exceſs, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and gliſtening to the laſt with the blaze of the very fire that conſumed it?

I do not know that I ought, but I am ſure that I do, prefer thoſe republics to the dozing ſlavery of the modern Greece, where the degraded wretches have ſuffered ſcorn till they merit it, where they tread on claſſic ground, on the aſhes of heroes and patriots, unconſcious of their anceſtry, ignorant of the nature, and almoſt of the name of liberty, and inſenſible even to the paſſion for it. Who, on this contraſt, can forbear to ſay, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that ſleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkiſh darkneſs? It is the ancient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is ſtill bright with glory, ſtill freſh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a leſs exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that thoſe who profeſs to be its moſt paſſionate admirers have, generally, the leaſt comprehenſion of its hazards and impediments: They expect that an enthuſiaſtic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irkſomeneſs of its reſtraints. Deluſive expectation! WASHINGTON was not thus deluded. We have his ſolemn warning againſt the often fatal propenſities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often falſe to their country and their honor, falſe to duty and even to their intereſt; but multitudes of men are never long falſe or deaf to their paſſions; theſe will find obſtacles in the laws, aſſociates in party. The fellowſhips thus formed are more intimate, and impoſe commands more imperious, than thoſe of ſociety.

Thus party forms a ſtate within the ſtate, and is animated by a rivalſhip, fear, and hatred, of

its ſuperior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become freſh provocations and offences; for they are the merits of an enemy. No wonder then, that as ſoon as party found the virtue and glory of WASHINGTON were obſtacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to ſurmount them both. For this, the greateſt of all his trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew that the government muſt poſſeſs ſufficient ſtrength from within or without, or fall a victim to faction. This *interior* ſtrength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unleſs it could be reinforced from *without* by the zeal and patriotiſm of the citizens; and this latter reſource was certainly as acceſſible to Preſident WASHINGTON, as to any chief magiſtrate that ever lived. The life of the federal government, he conſidered, was the breath of the people's noſtrils: Whenever they ſhould happen to be ſo infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end muſt be as ſpeedy, and might be as tragical, as a conſtitution for France.

* While the Preſident was thus adminiſtering the government, in ſo wiſe and juſt a manner, as to engage the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its ſupport, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their

* The Government of Maſſachuſetts has manifeſted more than once, and ſo lately as the laſt year, a wiſe diſcernment of the pernicious tendency of certain uſurping claims by States, and of changes propoſed to aboliſh, under the name of amending, the Conſtitution.

The example has had its proper weight to produce, in other States, a like zealous and prompt ſupport of the national Government.

Long may ſuch patriotic zeal continue, and ever may its efforts obtain a like ſucceſs!

attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progreſs, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occaſion, detain you to expreſs, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its deſpotiſm, by the mob or the military, from the firſt, and its hypocriſy of morals to the laſt. Scenes have paſſed there which exceed deſcription, and which, for other reaſons, I will not attempt to deſcribe; for it would not be poſſible, even at this diſtance of time, and with the ſea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving horror gather, like a froſt, about the heart, and almoſt ſtop its pulſe. That revolution has been conſtant in nothing but its viciſſitudes, and its promiſes; always deluſive, but always renewed, to eſtabliſh philoſophy by crimes, and liberty by the ſword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a ſoldier's helmet; and, with all their imitation of dictators and conſuls, their exacteſt ſimilitude to theſe Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another reſemblance, in their all conquering ambition.

But it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the meaſures of the Preſident, that belongs to my ſubject! It would be ingratefully wrong to his character, to be ſilent in reſpect to a part of it, which has the moſt ſignally illuſtrated his virtues.

The genuine character of that revolution is not even yet ſo well underſtood as the dictates

of ſelf-preſervation require it ſhould be. The chief duty and care of all governments is to protect the rights of property, and the tranquility of ſociety. The leaders of the French revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor againſt the rich; this has made the rich poor, but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were uſed only as blind inſtruments to make thoſe leaders maſters, firſt of the adverſe party, and then of the State. Thus the powers of the State were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preſerve tranquility and reſtrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and ſtill is, as much the prize of the ruling party as a captured ſhip, and if any right or poſſeſſion has eſcaped confiſcation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary; that is, not only different from, but directly contrary to, every regular and well-ordered ſociety. It is a danger, ſimilar in its kind, and at leaſt equal in degree, to that with which ancient Rome menaced her enemies. The allies of Rome were ſlaves; and it coſt ſome hundred years' efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this day, can truſt no better to treaties; they cannot even truſt to arms, unleſs they are uſed with a ſpirit and perſeverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the firſt,

hoſtile to all right and juſtice, to all peace and order in ſociety; and, therefore, its very exiſtence has been a ſtate of warfare againſt the civilized world, and moſt of all againſt free and orderly republics. For ſuch are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of deſtruction. Accordingly, ſcarcely any but republics have they ſubverted. Such governments, by ſhewing in practice what republican liberty *is*, detect French impoſture, and ſhew what their pretexts are *not*.

To ſubvert them, therefore, they had, beſides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greateſt obſtacles into their moſt efficient auxiliaries.

Who then, on careful reflection, will be ſurpriſed, that the French and their partizans inſtantly conceived the deſire, and made the moſt powerful attempts, to revolutionize the American government? But it will hereafter ſeem ſtrange that their exceſſes ſhould be excuſed, as the effects of a ſtruggle for liberty, and that ſo many of our citizens ſhould be flattered, while they were inſulted, with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles purſued. Nothing was ever more falſe, or more faſcinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the diſperſion of our people on farms, and on the almoſt equal diffuſion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whoſe authority reigns in the heart, and on the influence all theſe produce on public opinion

before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is reſtraint, *there* it is violence ; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning ſun of our ſummer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green ; *there* it is like the ſun, when his rays dart peſtilence on the ſands of Africa. American liberty calms and reſtrains the licentious paſſions, like an angel that ſays to the winds and troubled ſeas ; be ſtill. But how has French licentiouſneſs appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice ? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, repreſent her as a monſter, with eyes that flaſh wild fire, hands that hurl thunder-bolts, a voice that ſhakes the foundation of the hills ? She ſtands, and her ambition meaſures the earth ; ſhe ſpeaks, and an epidemic fury ſeizes the nations.

Experience is loſt upon us, if we deny, that it had ſeized a large part of the American Nation. It is as ſober, and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world ; yet, like all other people, we have paſſions and prejudices, and they had received a violent impulſe, which, for a time, miſled us.

Jacobiniſm had become here, as in France, rather a ſect than a party ; inſpiring a fanaticiſm that was equally intolerant and contagious. The deluſion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore claiming authority without proof ; and jealous enough to exact acquieſcence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progreſs was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious.

To them nothing ſeemed amiable, but the revolutionary juſtice of Paris; nothing terrible, but the government and juſtice of America. The very name of *Patriots* was claimed and applied in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party diſcerned its intimate connection of intereſt with France, and conſummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

The views of theſe allies required that this country ſhould engage in war with Great-Britain. Nothing leſs would give to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival: Nothing leſs would enſure the ſubjection of America, as a ſatellite to the ambition of France: Nothing elſe could make a revolution here perfectly inevitable.

For this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully inflamed, and the moment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated paſſions ſhould be in fuſion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and conſume the peace and government of our country.

The ſyſtematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were ſucceſſively purſued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be ſoon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worſt of evils in this worſt of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the States, amendments were propoſed to break down the Federal Senate, which, as in the State Governments, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant judiciary power was claimed for States. In another State, a rebel-

tion was fomented by the agent of France: And who, without freſh indignation, can remember, that the powers of government were openly uſurped; troops levied, and ſhips fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our government conſider without dread, that, ſoon afterwards, the treaty making power was boldly challenged for a branch of the government, from which the conſtitution has wiſely withholden it.

I am oppreſſed, and know not how to proceed with my ſubject—WASHINGTON, bleſſed be GOD! who endued him with wiſdom and cloathed him with power—WASHINGTON iſſued his Proclamation of Neutrality, and, at an early period, arreſted the intrigues of France and the paſſions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

This act of firmneſs, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the firſt of patriots. Time was gained for the citizens to recover their virtue and good ſenſe, and they ſoon recovered them. The criſis was paſſed, and America was ſaved.

You and I, moſt reſpected fellow-citizens, ſhould be ſooner tired than ſatisfied in recounting the particulars of this illuſtrious man's life.

How great he appeared, while he adminiſtered the government, how much greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the chief military command under his wife and upright ſucceſſor, how his life was unſpotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are ſo many diſtinct ſubjects of inſtruction, and each of them ſingly more than enough for an eulogi-

um. I leave the taſk, however, to hiſtory and to poſterity ; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impoſſible, that ſome will affect to conſider the honors paid to this great patriot by the nation, as exceſſive, idolatrous, and degrading to freemen, who are all equal. I anſwer, that refuſing to virtue its legitimate honors would not prevent their being laviſhed, in future, on any worthleſs and ambitious favorite. If this day's example ſhould have its natural effect, it will be ſalutary. Let ſuch honors be ſo conferred only when, in future, they ſhall be ſo merited : Then the public ſentiment will not be miſled, nor the principles of a juſt equality corrupted. The beſt evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas ! all WASHINGTON's before us. There has ſcarcely appeared a really great man, whoſe character has been more admired in his life time, or leſs correctly underſtood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no eaſy taſk to delineate its excellencies in ſuch a manner, as to give to the portrait both intereſt and reſemblance. For it requires thought and ſtudy to underſtand the true ground of the ſuperiority of his character over many others, whom he reſembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the ſteadineſs of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity of all his conduct to the ſame maxims. Theſe maxims, though wiſe, were yet not ſo remarkable for their wiſdom, as for their authority over his life : For if there were any errors in his judg-

ment, (and he diſcovered as few as any man) we know of no blemiſhes in his virtue. He was the patriot without reproach: He loved his country well enough to hold his ſucceſs in ſerving it an ample recompenſe. Thus far ſelf-love and love of country coincided: But when his country needed ſacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did not even heſitate. This was virtue in its moſt exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reaſon to think it would be ſacrificed, at leaſt in this age.

Two inſtances cannot be denied: When the army was diſbanded; and again, when he ſtood, like Leonidas at the paſs of Thermopylæ, to defend our independence againſt France.

It is indeed almoſt as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of Virtue. The reaſons are ſimilar. Our ideas of moral excellence are obſcure, becauſe they are complex, and we are obliged to reſort to illuſtrations. WASHINGTON's example is the happieſt to ſhew what virtue is; and to delineate his character, we naturally expatiate on the beauty of virtue: Much muſt be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not ſo much to be ſeen in the diſplay of any one virtue, as in the poſſeſſion of them all, and in the practice of the moſt difficult. Hereafter therefore his character muſt be ſtudied before it will be ſtriking; and then it will be admitted as a model; a precious one to a free republic.

It is no leſs difficult to ſpeak of his talents. They were adapted to lead, without dazzling mankind; and to draw forth and employ the

talents of others, without being miſled by them. In this he was certainly ſuperior, that he neither miſtook nor miſapplied his own. His great modeſty and reſerve would have concealed them, if great occaſions had not called them forth; and then, as he never ſpoke from the affectation to ſhine, nor acted from any ſiniſter motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatneſs and extent. In public truſts, where men, acting conſpicuouſly, are cautious, and in thoſe private concerns, where few conceal or reſiſt their weakneſſes, WASHINGTON was uniformly great; purſuing right conduct from right maxims. His talents were ſuch, as aſſiſt a ſound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was conſummate, and ſeemed to take the direction of his powers and paſſions; for, as a Soldier, he was more ſolicitous to avoid miſtakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant; and as a Stateſman, to adhere to juſt principles, however old, than to purſue novelties; and therefore in both characters, his qualities were ſingularly adapted to the intereſt, and were tried in the greateſt perils, of the country. His habits of enquiry were ſo far remarkable, that he was never ſatisfied with inveſtigating, nor deſiſted from it, ſo long as he had leſs than all the light that he could obtain upon a ſubject; and then he made his deciſion without bias.

This command over the partialities that ſo generally ſtop men ſhort, or turn them aſide, in their purſuit of truth, is one of the chief cauſes of his unvaried courſe of right conduct in ſo many difficult ſcenes, where every human actor muſt be preſumed to err.

If he had ſtrong paſſions, he had learned to ſubdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weakneſſes, he concealed them, which is rare, and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is ſtill more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed is of the kind that will laſt forever; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future Plutarch will ſearch for a parallel to his character. Epaminondas is perhaps the brighteſt name of all antiquity. Our WASHINGTON reſembled him in the purity and ardor of his patriotiſm; and, like him, he firſt exalted the glory of his country. There, it is to be hoped, the parallel ends: For Thebes fell with Epaminondas. But ſuch compariſons cannot be purſued far, without departing from the ſimilitude. For we ſhall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers. Some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts; others, for the majeſtic ſilence and fulneſs of their ſtreams: We cannot bring them together to meaſure the difference of their waters. The unambitious life of WASHINGTON, declining fame, yet courted by it, ſeemed like the Ohio, to chooſe its long way through ſolitudes, diffuſing fertility; or like his own Potowmac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the ſea, and diſplaying moſt the uſefulneſs and ſerenity of his greatneſs towards the end of his courſe. Such a citizen would do honor to any country. The conſtant veneration and affec-

tion of his country will ſhew, that it was worthy of ſuch a citizen.

However his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magiſtracy, that his example will inſtruct them. Great Generals have ariſen in all ages of the world, and perhaps moſt in thoſe of deſpotiſm and darkneſs. In times of violence and convulſion, they riſe by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the ſtorm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a ſplendor, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing viſible but the darkneſs. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: They multiply in every long war: They ſtand in hiſtory, and thicken in their ranks, almoſt as undiſtinguiſhed as their own ſoldiers.

But ſuch a Chief-Magiſtrate as WASHINGTON appears like the pole ſtar in a clear ſky, to direct the ſkilful ſtateſman. His preſidency will form an epoch, and be diſtinguiſhed as the age of WASHINGTON. Already it aſſumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its alſotted portion of the hemiſphere. The lateſt generations of men will ſurvey, through the teleſcope of hiſtory, the ſpace where ſo many virtues blend their rays, and delight to ſeparate them into groups and diſtinct virtues. As the beſt illuſtration of them, the living monument, to which the firſt of Patriots would have choſen to conſign his fame, it is my earneſt prayer to Heaven, that our country may ſubſiſt, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happineſs, and mingle its mild glory with WASHINGTON'S.

AN ORATION,

Pronounced at Exeter, February 22d, 1800.

BY JEREMIAH SMITH, A. M.

WE are assembled, my respected fellow-citizens, at the recommendation of the highest authority in our nation, publicly to testify our grief for the death of a beloved and illustrious Citizen. Our country this day presents to the world a spectacle, as sublime as it is novel—A Republic, inconsolable for the loss of a single Citizen; five millions of people at the same moment employed in acts of devotion to Almighty GOD, and in the same unfeigned expressions of sorrow for this afflictive dispensation of his holy Providence.

It is not indeed without example, that a nation should generally adopt the symbols of mourning for the death of a Leader, a Prince, or a Benefactor: But where shall we look, except to this melancholy occasion, for grief so universal, as scarcely to admit of a single exception—so sincere, as to exclude all affectation of sorrow—and so poignant, that hearts the least susceptible of the tender emotions feel more, than it is in the power of language to express. Our young men have lost a Father; the more aged a Brother; Religion her brightest ornament; our country her shield, her defence, her glory in war, her guide, her great example in peace.

This anniverſary, for many years devoted to gladneſs and rejoicing—a day, when every heart beat high with joy, and every countenance beamed with pleaſure—is now, alas! a day of darkneſs and of ſorrow. It hath pleaſed him, who ſitteth on the circle of the Heavens, to take to himſelf the delight of all eyes, the joy and the pride of every heart.

The Proclamation, under which we are convened, has pointed out in general terms the duties of this ſolemn occaſion. Let this day be ſacredly devoted to ſorrow—Let us retire from the buſy ſcenes of life—and for a few moments quit that world, from which in a few days we muſt part forever. Let us ſpend one day at the Tomb of the illuſtrious WASHINGTON; and, while employed in the ſad office of paying the laſt tribute of reſpect and affection to our departed friend, may it pleaſe the Father of all mercies to grant, that his death, as well as the virtuous acts of his glorious life, may ſerve to make us both wiſer and better. In this way, and in this way only, ſhall we ſuitably improve this affecting diſpenſation of Providence, and anſwer the benevolent views of thoſe, who have ſummoned us together.

A ſuitable eulogy or diſcourſe on the illuſtrious dead, while it attempts to give expreſſion to the grief, which oppreſſes the heart of every hearer, by delineating a character worthy our higheſt admiration, will tend to excite in us the livelieſt emotions of gratitude to Heaven, for a gift ſo precious, the keeneſt anguiſh for his

loſs at this eventful moment, and the moſt ardent deſires to imitate his excellent virtues.

But who can paint the ſorrows that actuate every boſom? For my own part, I muſt decline a taſk, to which I am wholly incompetent—My own feelings tell me, that I never can deſcribe yours. Silence is the language of true and genuine grief, and tears are eloquent beyond the power of words—Attempt not to repreſs them, when it is manly to weep—They are a voluntary tribute of reſpect to the memory of him, who has been juſtly called firſt in war, firſt in peace, and firſt in the hearts of his countrymen. If ought below can reach him in the realms above; if ought on earth can convey pleaſure to his immortal ſoul; it is the tears of a grateful people, *voluntarily* ſhed over his grave.*

To delineate the character of our beloved WASHINGTON is no eaſy taſk. He, who is called to ſpeak the praiſes of the dead, by the general licenſe of mankind, is indulged with the privilege of concealing the faults, and of magnifying the virtues of the perſon, who is the ſubject of his praiſe. The poverty or badneſs of his materials has generally impoſed on the eulogiſt of the moſt ſcrupulous regard for truth, the neceſſity of availing himſelf of this humane indulgence. Hence it has frequently happened, that the picture has greatly exceeded in beauty the original, and the hearer has gone away charmed with the character, who would have deteſted the man, to whom it is applied.

* Cæſar purchaſed his popularity while living, and the tears ſhed over his grave with largeſſes; that is, he robbed half mankind to gain the praiſes and the tears of the other half.

The eulogiſt of WASHINGTON has no vices to conceal. Inſtead of indulging his fancy, by excurſions into the regions of fiction in queſt of materials for praiſe, he will find himſelf oppreſſed by matter ſo rich, as to preclude exaggeration, and ſo copious, as only to embarraſs him in the ſelection. Of him it may be truly ſaid, that the moſt faithful picture will exhibit the greateſt beauty and the moſt ſtriking reſemblance.

Secure from the imputation of aſcribing to the illuſtrious dead unmerited praiſes, how can I hope to eſcape the cenſure of every one of my hearers, for omitting in the character, I would delineate, ſome amiable trait, which won his affections, ſome favorite excellence, which commanded his admiration?

Amid all the difficulties incident to my ſituation, and feeling, as I do, an almoſt total want of ability to execute the part, your kind partiality has aſſigned me, in the ſolemn exerciſes of the day, I have this conſolation, that as on the one hand, no exertion of talents, however great, could exalt a character, incapable of receiving any addition of praiſe; ſo on the other, the moſt imperfect ſketch, and the moſt defective execution of my deſign, can in no wiſe leſſen the public eſtimation of his merits—Thanks be to GOD, his character is conſummated, his glory is depoſited where neither misfortune nor malevolence can tarniſh nor deſtroy it.

To conſtitute a great and perfect character, there muſt be an aſſemblage of the great and ſhining qualities, which dazzle by their ſplendor the popular eye, blended in exact propor-

tion with the ſofter and more gentle virtues, beneficence, humanity, moderation, piety and charity.—Theſe latter, though calculated to ſteal the heart and win the affections, as they lie more in the ſhade, are leſs known and leſs regarded. It is rare indeed to find the ſplendid, the amiable, and the uſeful united in the ſame perſon. Our WASHINGTON furniſhes an exception to the general rule; and it will forever remain a queſtion, whether he was moſt diſtinguiſhed above all other men by the greatneſs of his talents, or the goodneſs of his heart—whether his noble, his uſeful, or his amiable virtues predominated; and which of theſe have been moſt glorious to himſelf, or moſt ſerviceable to his country. If by the firſt he has acquired the title of our political Saviour, by the latter, like Marcus Aurelius, he has merited, to be ſtiled by the more endearing epithet, the father of his country.

It belongs to the hiſtorian of our Nation to write the life of him, who was the chief inſtrument employed by Heaven in achieving our independence. His name and that of our country are inſeparable.

A faithful narrative of what he did and what he ſuffered, during the period of a long, a bloody, and a dubious conflict, which terminated ſo glorioufly, will furniſh the higheſt eulogium on his wiſdom, his virtue, and his talents.

To enter upon a field ſo extenſive neither ſuits my ſlender abilities nor comports with the proper duties of the day. Let us be contented with a more contracted view of the illuſtrious ſubject of our grief in the various characters of

a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, a private citizen, a man and a chriſtian.

When in the courſe of human events the time had arrived, that the political bands, which connected us with another nation, were to be diſſolved—when our venerable fathers dared to aſſume an equal ſtation among the powers of the earth—it became neceſſary, that they ſhould defend with the ſword thoſe rights, they claimed for themſelves and their poſterity.

Among the bold and intrepid aſſertors of our liberties, which that ever memorable period of our hiſtory produced, the illuſtrious WASHINGTON was found. That truly dignified and manly ſpirit of freedom, which has ſince diſplayed itſelf in all his actions, then glowed in his breaſt.

In the early period of his life he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſoldier, and had given an earneſt of thoſe military talents, which have ſince burſt upon the world with ſo much ſplendor. But at that period his fame was neither ſo brilliant, nor ſo extenſive, as to mark him out to the public as the fitteſt among the thouſands of his valliant countrymen, to exerciſe a command ſo new, ſo difficult, and ſo hazardous. I mention this, not with any deſign to depreciate his early fame, but to lead us to aſcribe his unanimous election to the ſupreme command of our armies, to the inviſible agency of that Almighty Being, to whom we are alike indebted for our exiſtence as an independent nation, and for the means by which it was accompliſhed.

It muſt give us pleaſure, and I am ſure it will

afford us inſtruction, to recur to this memorable period of *our* annals and of *his* glory.

Who is not ſtruck with admiration at the modeſt diffidence, with which he accepted the command of our armies? The truly great are truly humble. His able diſcharge of the important truſt no leſs clearly proves the former, than the whole tenor of his life evinces the latter.

I have ſaid, that this firſt diſtinguiſhed teſtimony of public approbation, as it reſpected him, was both hazardous and difficult. His life, his fortune, and, what was dearer than both, his untarniſhed honor, were ſtaked on the event.

Even at this ſhort diſtance of time, it is not eaſy juſtly to appreciate the difficulties he had to encounter—Our country preſented to the world the novel ſpectacle of thirteen independent colonies, different in their habits, manners, and in their intereſts—connected only by a ſenſe of common danger—without alliances—without funds—without a government—oppoſed in arms by a nation as brave, as ſhe was powerful; a nation, fluſhed with conqueſt, and obſtinately determined on our ſubjugation. To engage in a conteſt ſo arduous, and to every human eye ſo unequal, required the zeal of a martyr—to conduct it, wiſdom and firmneſs, apparently more than human—to bring it to a happy and ſucceſsful concluſion, we are conſtrained to acknowledge, that it required the powerful agency of Providence, co-operating with the ſublimeſt exertions of human virtue.

Who has forgotten the gloomy aſpect of our affairs at an early period of the war, when our

army was ſucceſſively driven from all their ſtrong holds by our triumphant and exulting foe? At this period, to adopt the language of our excellent Preſident, we behold our magnanimous Chief in adverſity, in the deepeſt diſtreſs, and moſt trying perplexities. The Gods witneſs with pleaſure a brave man ſtruggling with the ſtorms of fate. To us ſhort-ſighted mortals, it would ſeem, that they ſometimes delight in raiſing the tempeſt and thickening the cloud, that their favorites may emerge to more reſplendent glory.

The joy, univerſally diffuſed, by the brilliant ſucceſſes at Trenton and Princeton, at the cloſe of this memorabie year, was no doubt heightened by the gloomy contraſt, which the preceding ſummer afforded. From this day our proſpects brighted, but they were not always bright. Our beloved Chief paſſed through a thouſand ſcenes of diſtreſs and danger, with a ſpirit unbroken by adverſity—a ſpirit, which not only enabled him to ſuſtain the weight of cares, which devolved on him, but ſerved to revive and animate his fainting troops. At the outſet in his military career, he had to contend with difficulties of an unuſual nature. All his ſoldiers, and with few exceptions, his ſubordinate officers, were wholly undiſciplined. They were brave, and each poſſeſſed a portion of the ſame ardor for liberty, which animated their illuſtrious leader; but they were impatient of control, becauſe unaccuſtomed to the reſtraints of military life. But he was born to ſurmount difficulties, never ſurmounted before.

His perſonal merit, and the confidence, inſpired by his virtues, enabled him to conquer his own troops, that with them he might conquer the enemy. His own conduct gave a ſanction to the rules he preſcribed for others—He practiſed himſelf the difficult leſſons he taught, and every ſoldier dreaded a Chief, who had learned to obey, and therefore was worthy to command.

It cannot therefore excite our wonder ſo much as our admiration of his virtues, that our citizens were ſo ſoon converted into ſoldiers, when to acquire the approbation and eſteem of their beloved General was the motive, and the poſſeſſion of that eſteem the never failing reward, of military merit, though found in the loweſt grade.

The brilliant victories and ſucceſſes, which attended the American arms from the period, of which we have been ſpeaking, to the final triumph at Yorktown, muſt be aſcribed under Heaven to the able deſigns of our illuſtrious Chief, formed in a maſterly manner, and executed with a proportionate degree of ſkill and prudence, no leſs than to the bravery and ſpirit of his troops.

I muſt not omit to mention, while conſidering the military character of the illuſtrious dead, his uniform attention, in all diſaſters and changes, to the rights of the civil power; his invariable reſpect to the perſons and property of the citizens; and, what muſt have afforded him at the cloſe of life more ſolid joy, than battles won and enemies vanquiſhed, his clemency to

the guilty, and his mild and temperate juſtice to all. If other generals can boaſt, that they have ſlain their thouſands, WASHINGTON may truly add, I have preſerved my ten thouſands. In a word, his enemies, if he had any, could not heſitate to allow him the talents of the moſt conſummate General; and his country never can forget, that he conducted the great military conteſt, with wiſdom, fortitude and ſucceſs; and enabled his fellow-citizens to diſplay their martial genius, and tranſmit their fame to poſterity.

After a purſuit of ſeven long years, the object of our moſt juſt and arduous ſtruggle, by the bleſſing of Heaven, was accompliſhed, and our enemies compelled to abandon their ſchemes and acknowledge our independence.

Let all due praiſes be given to the valiant ſoldiers, who fought our battles—to the brave and intrepid officers, who led them on to victory and glory:—Let the names of the gallant Warren, Mercer, and Montgomery be had in everlaſting remembrance—Let us never forget the debt of gratitude we owe a Greene, a Sullivan, a Scammel, and a long liſt of heroes, whoſe names and achievements will be found to occupy a conſpicuous place in the annals of our revolution—Sufficient praiſe ſtill remains for him, whoſe mighty ſoul planned, directed, and animated the whole.

When our independence was eſtabliſhed, our beloved Chief, having taught a leſſon uſeful to thoſe, who inflict, and to thoſe, who feel oppreſſion, retired to the peaceful ſhade of private life, covered with glory, and attended

with the bleſſings of his grateful countrymen.

It has often been remarked, that nature, as if parſimonious of her choiceſt gifts, has rarely beſtowed on her favorite children, talents to excel, in the various and multiplied purſuits of human life.

The race of heroes has generally proved as deſtructive in peace, as they have been terrible in war, while the ableſt ſtateſmen have been found, on experiment, incapable of acquiring any degree of military fame. It was this ſentiment, founded as it would ſeem in nature, and juſtified by experience, which led the fond admirers of WASHINGTON to fear, that he might loſe at the helm of ſtate ſome portion of that glory, which he had won at the head of our armies. To have expreſſed a belief at this interſting period of his life, that his glory was capable of any addition, would have been condemned as implying deficiency in a character deemed complete:—To have indulged even the hope of an encreaſe of honors would have been viewed in no other light, than as one of thoſe flattering deluſions, which our wiſhes ſometimes contrive to impoſe on our judgment. Thanks be to Heaven, that to our time and to our country has been reſerved the ſingular felicity, of preſenting to the world a character as conſpicuouſly unrivalled for the virtues of civil adminiſtration, as it had been rendered illuſtrious for military achievements.

The merit of his ſervices, during the eight years he preſided in our public councils, can

only be appreciated by a view of the magnitude and difficulty of the truſt he was called to execute, and the courſe of conduct he purſued, during his civil adminiſtration.

Entering upon a frame of government, excellent indeed in theory, but which had not as yet received the ſanction of experience, it required no ſmall ſhare of political ability, to lay the foundations of our civil inſtitutions in ſuch a manner, as beſt to ſecure domeſtic tranquility, eſtabliſh juſtice, promote the general welfare, and thus, in the way of gradual progreſſion, to raiſe our country to that rank and importance among the nations, to which we ſeem deſtined by the God of nature.

Without derogating from the praiſes due to the able and enlightened ſtateſmen, who filled the ſubordinate departments of government, we can never forget, how much we owe to his prudence, judgment, and unremitted labors, that, while other nations are involved in a bloody and deſtructive war, our happy country has enjoyed ſo much internal tranquility—that ſhe has had time to mature her recent inſtitutions; and to acquire that portion of ſtrength, which, with the bleſſing of Heaven, will enable her to ſupport her independence, and maintain her juſt rights againſt all her enemies.

In the management of our external concerns as a nation, the wiſdom of our great Chief Magiſtrate was eminently diſplayed. Connected as we are with the old world, it was juſtly to be apprehended, that the war in Europe would endanger our peace. There is nothing in the

character of our beloved WASHINGTON more strongly marked, than his deteſtation of war, and his love of peace. War he conſidered as the diſgrace and calamity of human nature. As a man and as a patriot he loved peace; but it was that peace, which is conſiſtent with the public good, the public engagements, and the public honor. This peace he cultivated, with the moſt ardent zeal. He invited the friendſhip of all nations, and ſought to preſerve it, by performing all our engagements to them with the moſt pure and abſolute faith. That a policy ſo magnanimous, and ſo honorable for our couutry, has not been productive of all the good, that was rationally to have been expected from it; that it has not entirely exempted us from the calamity of actual war, is not to be aſcribed to any defect of wiſdom in him, who adopted it; but to the unparalleled corruption, baſeneſs, and profligacy of thoſe men, whom a juſt GOD to ſcourge a ſinful world (and our imagination can ſcarcely conceive of a more dreadful plague,) has permitted to uſurp dominion over the faireſt and moſt civilized portion of the globe.

Let us carry our imaginations back to that period of our hiſtory, when every artifice was practiſed to draw our Government from the neutral poſition ſhe had taken.

Our magnanimous Chief was neither to be diverted by flattery, nor deterred by menaces, from the pacific ſyſtem he had adopted:—a ſyſtem ſo congenial to *his* feelings and *our* intereſts.—Deſpairing at length of being able to intimidate or corrupt the Government, it only

remained to corrupt the people. In all governments, and eſpecially in thoſe of the popular kind, there are men to be found, ready to ſacrifice on the altar of private ambition the deareſt intereſts of their country.*

In this age of revolution, language itſelf has been revolutionized, and wicked and unprincipled men, profeſſing a more enlarged patriotiſm, have labored to ſubvert our excellent conſtitution, and to undermine the pillars, which ſupport our independence as a nation. For this purpoſe every act of our public functionaries has been miſrepreſented; ſuſpicions and jealouſies diſſeminated, and the groſſeſt calumnies induſtriouſly circulated. In this way it was eaſily ſeen, that the power of our government, which has for its baſis the confidence of the people in thoſe who adminiſter it, would ſoon be deſtroyed, and we, like Geneva, Holland, and Switzerland, become the humble ſatellite of a foreign nation. The ſpirit of oppoſition to our government now aſſumed a formidable ſhape and ſize. The vicious, the turbulent, and the diſorderly, are naturally hoſtile to the beſt and mildeſt government. The ignorant were deluded; the timid and wavering had already enliſted under the banners of rebellion; our enemies ſaw the ſucceſs of their ſchemes juſt about to be realized—The eyes of the real lovers of our country were turned on WASHINGTON. He ſtood collected in himſelf, like a rock in a tempeſtuous ſea, unmoved by the ſtorms of popular

* A faction will at any time give up their country to a foreign power, rather than to the dominion of an oppoſite faction.

fury, that beat upon him. His judgment diſcerned the path of duty and he purſued it. His enemies (for the enemies of his country were his) were confounded by his firm and manly conduct. The deluded were enlightened by his wiſdom, and with the ſteady friends of order and of peace again rallied round the ſtandard of the laws, and we were ſaved.

During the whole period of his adminiſtration, our beloved Chief Magiſtrate maintained the ſame uniform character for moderation, wiſdom, and firmneſs. His active genius was equally ſuited to the moſt enlarged views, and the minuteſt details of civil policy. By a ſolicitous examination of objections, and a judicious compariſon of oppoſite arguments, he attained a firm and unſhaken conviction on the many and various queſtions ſubmitted to his deciſion; but his firmneſs was without aſperity, and though inflexible, he was candid. He was a practical politician, and always conſidered experience, which is every day ſhewing the fallacy of the moſt plauſible theories, as the ſureſt ſtandard, and the beſt teſt of political truth.

Having ſpent forty-five years of his life, in the ſervice of his country, he retired a ſecond time, from the great theatre of action, and thus completed the luſtre of a character, before unrivalled by the coincidence of virtue, talents, ſucceſs, and public eſtimation; and afforded an example of moderation and magnanimity no leſs rare, than inſtructive to mankind.

Let us now follow our illuſtrious friend into the ſhade of private life. Of the generality of

princes it has been remarked, that if ſtripped of their purple, and caſt naked into the world, they would ſink to the loweſt rank of ſociety, without a hope of emerging from obſcurity. It is perhaps no leſs true, that thoſe men, who have been diſtinguiſhed, and juſtly diſtinguiſhed, in the field and in the cabinet, are often found extremely deficient in thoſe talents and acquirements, which are uſeful, and ornamental in private life. And how often has it happened, that ſplendid talents, though accompanied with great virtues, have been diſgraced by private vices. The character of WASHINGTON was uniform throughout. His merits were in a great meaſure independent of his rank and fortune. His private virtues added luſtre and dignity to his public character—If his deſtiny had neither led him to the field, nor to the cabinet, he would have maintained the ſame ſuperiority in private, as he did in public life.

He inherited from nature a ſtrong and vigorous mind, which was cultivated by ſtudy, and more by meditation and reflection. His memory was remarkably retentive, and his judgment keen and penetrating.

As a proof of his title to no ſmall ſhare of literary fame, we need only refer to his writings official and private, which are now before the public :—They will be read with pleaſure, as long as the language in which they are written ſhall remain, as compoſitions, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for correctneſs, dignity, and elevation of thought, than for beauty, harmony and elegance of expreſſion.

Of his virtues it may be ſaid, that they were the fruits of much cultivation beſtowed on a good ſoil.*

He very early acquired the power of ſubmitting his paſſions to his reaſon. He practiſed without effort, and almoſt without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and ſobriety :—He was eminently diſtinguiſhed for prudence, moderation and equanimity of ſoul :—He deſerved the ſingular commendation, that inſtead of being corrupted by ſucceſs, his virtues always expanded with his fortune :—The ſeaſon of his proſperity was that of his moderation.

Perhaps no man ever ſhared more largely in the public eſteem, or received more flattering marks of diſtinction ; but was there ever one, who deſerved them better or appreciated them more juſtly ?—His popularity was earned by virtuous deeds, and it was ſpent in the ſervice of virtue.

In diſpatch of buſineſs, his diligence was indefatigable. He was remarkable for obſerving the moſt perfect order, without too rigid adherence to method, in all his concerns public and private. This nice arrangement of labor, and exact diſtribution of time, enabled him to tranſact an uncommon portion of buſineſs, and ſtill left him leiſure to enjoy the innocent pleaſures of life. With him every hour had its duty, and every duty its hour. How delightful, that he could ſay at the cloſe of his life, *I have left nothing undone.*

* This was remarked of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius ; between whom and WASHINGTON there was a ſtriking reſemblance.

His eaſy fortune, encreaſed by his induſtry and active labors, afforded him the means, which he never failed to improve, of diſplaying his beneficence and generoſity to thoſe, who had any claims on his bounty, or who came within the enlarged circle of his acquaintance.

To act altogether from pure benevolence or regard to the good of others ſeems hardly compatible with human nature. The tenor of his whole life evinced, that neither vanity nor intereſt impelled him to action—Vanity it could not be; for who ſo modeſt and unaſſuming? It could not be intereſt; for though he declined no labor, he refuſed all pecuniary compenſation. If ambition fired his ſoul, it was a glorious ambition, for it ſaved his country.

The perſon as well as the mind of our departed Chief was enriched by nature with her choiceſt endowments. His ſtature was lofty, his countenance dignified, his deportment graceful, and his manners liberal, courteous and refined.

The moſt ſingular trait in the character and fortunes of this great man remains to be mentioned:—He was neither capable of envy himſelf, nor the *object* of that paſſion in others. Can there be higher evidence of his ſuperior excellence? His character was conſidered as a ſort of public property; every member of the community had an intereſt in preſerving it inviolate.

Popular applauſe, of all the gifts in the power of fortune to beſtow, the moſt fickle and

precarious—to him was conſtant, ſteady, and uniform as his virtues.

Of his patriotiſm I need not ſpeak.—All virtues have their extremes. There is a patriotiſm too narrow; and the philoſophy of the preſent day teaches one much too broad; it embraces all nations. There is alſo a love of liberty, which is diſorderly and tumultuous. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the patriotiſm of our WASHINGTON was an ardent love of his *own* country; and the liberty, he adored, was that of which government is the guardian.

I have reſerved for the laſt to ſpeak of the religious character of the deceaſed; becauſe, like the key-ſtone, which completes the arch, it is this which completes the luſtre of his unrivalled name.

We have ſeen that his private life was marked, in an eminent degree, with the practice of the moral virtues. The maxims he preſcribed for himſelf, as the baſis of his political conduct, will bear the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, when brought to the teſt of reaſon and morality.

He taught (and his own practice correſponded with his doctrine) that the foundation of national policy, can be laid only in the pure and immutable principles of *private* morality:—That there exiſts in the economy of nature an indiſſoluble union between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and felicity;—that the propitious ſmiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation, that diſregards the eter-

nal laws of order and right, which Heaven itſelf has ordained.

In our country there are few, who will heſitate to acknowledge the obligations, we are under, to make the concerns of another world the governing principle of our lives in this; and that chriſtianity is the higheſt ornament of human nature. WASHINGTON practiſed upon this belief—He publicly profeſſed the religion in which he was educated; and his life affords the beſt evidence of the purity of his principles, and the ſincerity of his faith.

He had all the genuine mildneſs of chriſtianity with all its force. He was neither oſtentatious, nor aſhamed of his chriſtian profeſſion. He purſued in this, as in every thing elſe, the happy mean between the extremes of levity and gloomineſs, indifference and auſterity. His religion became him. He brought it with him into office, and he did not loſe it there. His firſt and his laſt official acts (as did all the intermediate ones) contained an explicit acknowledgement of the over-ruling providence of the Supreme Being; and the moſt fervent ſupplication for his benediction on our government and nation.

Without being charged with exaggeration, I may be permitted to ſay, that an accurate knowledge of his life, while it would confer on him the higheſt title to praiſe, would be productive of the moſt ſolid advantage to the cauſe of chriſtianity.

I have omitted to ſpeak of the magnanimity of WASHINGTON in accepting the command of

our armies, in a ſubordinate ſtation, when in his judgment the public good again required the ſacrifice of his private feelings; becauſe I cannot find words ſufficiently expreſſive of the admiration, with which his favored country could not but view this laſt tranſcendent proof of his ardent love and inviolable regard.

There is, by the irrevocable decree of Heaven, a period fixed to human greatneſs and human glory. The time had now arrived, that WASHINGTON muſt die. He could not in the day of death diſgrace a character, ſupported by virtue and fortitude. He, who had lived without guilt, muſt die without remorſe. But I reckon it a public bleſſing, and deſerving our thanks to Almighty GOD, that he was called to this laſt encounter, in the full poſſeſſion and vigor of his mental powers. Highly favored of Heaven, to him it was given, to meet the laſt enemy of man, with the ſame firmneſs, the ſame fortitude, and the ſame reliance on heavenly aid, with which, during his life, he met the foes of his country—And who can doubt of his ſucceſs in this laſt engagement?—At this awful moment he had the ſingular felicity, reſulting from a review of his well ſpent life, that not a word had eſcaped his tongue, which a wiſe man might not utter—not a ſentence dropped from his pen, which, dying he could wiſh to blot—not an action performed, which prudence could condemn, nor one omitted, which duty had enjoined.

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the inviſible hand, which conducts the

affairs of men, more than the people of these states, for raising up this able leader, who in war and in peace merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence of the army and the citizens; and while the lives of other illustrious men have been glorious for themselves, that it pleased Heaven to make his glorious for his country. While our hearts are torn with anguish at the afflictive dispensation of a holy Providence, which is the subject of this day's sad solemnities, let us never forget, that his valuable life was preserved, till a citizen was found worthy to succeed him. And what higher praise can be given to the enlightened Patriot, who fills the chair of state? Like WASHINGTON, he was eminently instrumental in achieving our revolution—devoted like WASHINGTON to the service of that country, which his wisdom has rendered illustrious, like him may he be honored while living, and lamented in death by his grateful and affectionate countrymen.

If the happiness of an unembodied spirit at all consists in the possession of felicitating ideas of the past as doubtless it does, how great must be the happiness of him, whose death we this day mourn? As the saviour of his country, great must be his crown of rejoicing. On the earth he sought no rewards, no statues, no triumphs. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues, which made him from being a modest citizen a more resplendent luminary. But on earth he was not without his reward—His was the reward of success attending

all his patriotic labors—his the honeſt pride of virtue, and above all, the exquiſite delight of beholding the general happineſs, of which he was ſo eminently the author. In this aſſembly, there cannot be found one cold admirer of his virtues. If our country can furniſh one ſuch, is it too much to ſay, that he is no leſs cold to the deareſt intereſts of humanity, virtue, and religion? But the tokens of affection for his pure character, the proofs of gratitude for his ſervices, and of reverence for his wiſdom and pre-eminent virtues, exhibited by every deſcription of perſons on this melancholy occaſion, will forever ſhew how greatly he was beloved, eſteemed, and honored by his country; and will ſerve to reſcue our nation from the reproach of ingratitude, which has been caſt on Republics. He is now exalted above all earthly praiſe—we ſhall ſee his face no more. But the glory of his virtue will reach beyond the grave. When our riſing empire ſhall have riſen and ſunk again into ruin, it will live and continue to animate remoteſt ages.

To us it only remains, that we improve this afflicting diſpenſation of divine Providence in a ſuitable manner; and this can only be done by a ſtrict obſervance of his admonitions and the imitation of his excellent example.

Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretentions to adviſe; but the counſels of our departed friend come recommended by additional claims to our regard. His laſt addreſs to his countrymen is the reſult of much wiſdom, collected from experience—it was dictated by

the heart, and may be viewed as the dying words of a father to his children. Cultivate union and brotherly affection, (it is thus he ſpeaks to us) that the ſacred fire of liberty may be preſerved, and the pre-eminence of the Republican model of Government exemplified, as that which ſecures to the people the greateſt portion of liberty, proſperity, and happineſs. On this union be aſſured depends your peace abroad, your ſafety at home.

Moderate the fury of party ſpirit. It is this, which diſturbs your public councils, and enfeebles your adminiſtration. Baniſh local prejudices as well as party views. Cheriſh public credit, and for that end contribute to the public revenues, and cheerfully bear the public burthens.

Obſerve good faith and juſtice to all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Preſent to the world the example, as magnanimous as it is rare, of a people always guided by an exalted juſtice and benevolence.

Diſmiſs your inveterate hatred for ſome nations, and your paſſionate attachment for others. Theſe paſſions are alike deſtructive to your peace and independence. It would be credulity to expect, and degrading to accept, favors from any nation.

Againſt the inſidious wiles of foreign influence maintain a watchful and conſtant jealouſy. It is the deadly foe of republican governments. Guard no leſs ſtrenuouſly againſt the impoſtures of pretended patriots at home, than againſt the miſchiefs of foreign intrigue. It is eaſy for the

worſt men to adopt the language of the virtuous, and for your greateſt enemies to aſſume the appearance of the moſt diſintereſted zeal for your intereſts, and the moſt ardent attachment for your perſons; while at the ſame time they are but the tools of foreign intrigue and ſeeking their own perſonal aggrandizement at your *expence*. The means they employ to accompliſh their ends will ſerve to point out to you the perſons of this deſcription. Theſe means are no other, than the diſſemination of ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and calumnies againſt the beſt and moſt virtuous of your citizens; and that becauſe they poſſeſs, what they ſo juſtly deſerve, your favor and confidence.

But above all, cheriſh and promote the interests of knowledge, virtue, and religion. They are indiſpenſable to the ſupport of any free government, and in a peculiar manner to thoſe of the popular kind. Let it never be forgotten, that there can be no genuine freedom, where there is no morality, and no ſound morality, where there is no religion. Morality without religion will ſoon loſe its obligation, and religion without morality will degenerate into ſuperſtition, which will corrupt inſtead of ameliorating the maſs, into which it is infuſed. Let no man have your confidence, who is deſtitute of either. Heſitate not a moment to believe, that the man, who labors to deſtroy theſe two great pillars of human happineſs—theſe firmeſt props of the duties of men and citizens, whatever may be his profeſſions of patriotiſm, is neither a good patriot nor a good man.

If these solemn and momentous truths stood in any need of illustration, let him that doubts be pleased to recollect, that the experiment is making, I may say already made, of governing a nation without the aid of religion and without morality. Those, who are pleased with the result of that experiment, are not to be convinced. To all others, a volume could not so ably prove the indispensable necessity of religion and morality, to the prosperity and happiness of a nation.

May it please the Supreme Ruler of the Universe and Sovereign Arbiter of nations to make our happy country, as distinguished for the practice of piety and morality, as for the love of liberty and social order—to spread his holy protection over these United States; to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our union and independence; to enable us to triumph over internal sedition, and to put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity, which his goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations—that this government, instituted under the auspices of Heaven, shall long continue the asylum of the oppressed, and a safeguard to human rights.

AN EULOGY,

Pronounced at Amherſt, before the Inhabitants of the town of Amherſt, the Inhabitants of the town of Milford, and the Benevolent Lodge, February 22d, 1800, at the requeſt of their Committees.

BY CHARLES H. ATHERTON, A. M.

IN what, my fellow townſmen, can we more merit the approbation of the good; in what can we have ſtronger aſſurance of meeting the ſmiles of Heaven, than in teſtifying our love for him, whoſe affection for us was unbounded; than in admiring that wiſdom, which ſaved, and that bravery, which defended us; than in contemplating that exalted aſſemblage of virtues, which has been the ſource of innumerable bleſſings to his country, and which through life diſtinguiſhed the man, whoſe loſs we now deplore? Were it poſſible, that you could paſs over in neglectful ſilence virtues ſo illuſtrious, and ſervices ſo extenſively beneficial, your ingratitude would excite the aſtoniſhment of poſterity, as long as the name of WASHINGTON will their affection and praiſe. But thanks to a free and enlightened people; they ſee in the independence of their country, in the freedom of their conſtitutions, and in their unexampled political proſperity, intelligibly inſcribed the merits of their aſcended chieftain. They feel that they are happy above all the nations of the earth,

and are too generous to forget the hand that has been the inſtrument of good to them. Thanks to the tranſcendent virtues of your beloved WASHINGTON; he left no umbrages for time to cure, no envyings and foibles for the grave to hide. The preſent age will not refuſe juſtice to his memory, and "future generations will riſe up and call him bleſſed."

American ſoil, the immediate theatre of his glory, now entombs the cold remains of your WASHINGTON, as it does the bones of his anceſtors. So early as the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſeven, did the family, from which he traces his deſcent, arrive from England and ſettle in this country. Pride will have no influence on the human character, when it is forgetten, that the pariſh of Waſhington, in the county of Weſtmoreland, Virginia, was the place of his nativity. WASHINGTON was an American born. Sixty-eight years, reckoned back from this day, did the ſun, ſmiling upon the American world, riſe the glad herald of his birth. Educated by private inſtruction, he acquired a refined education, and a ſtyle of writing inferior to none of his cotemporaries. At the age of fifteen, he entered as a midſhipman in the Britiſh navy. WASHINGTON muſt have acquired reputation and glory to himſelf in any ſtation of life. Nature had made him great, education and reflection had made him good. Such decided ſuperiority muſt have borne the palm of merit in any theatre of action, to which his deſtinies had led. But though the ocean had taken peculiar care of the worth entruſted

to her charge ; though the life of a ſailor were leſs uncertain than it is, no career of naval glory could have been productive of half the bleſſings to his country, which as the commander of their armies in war and their chief magiſtrate in peace, he ſhed upon it in ſuch boundleſs profuſion. Five millions of freemen, that are this day emulous to heap their benedictions on his head, might have had no cauſe to reckon him in the catalogue of their benefactors. How bleſt have been the tears of his mother ! How bleſt has been her maternal ſolicitude for the firſt fruits of her marriage ! How amply rewarded has been the filial piety of your youthful hero, who, at the ſolicitation of his only ſurviving parent, abandoned the allurements of the ocean, and reſtored himſelf to her boſom !

While he was yet in his minority, he was honored with a principal appointment in the military ſervice of Virginia, with the rank of Major. But it was not till the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty three, that the path of his glory, by its brightneſs, began to attract public attention. Mutual injuries, jealouſy and irritation, between the Engliſh and French nations, excited the latter, then our neighbors in Canada, to make encroachments on Britiſh America, and to ſtir up the ſavages to acts of hoſtility againſt us. The effects of this diabolical policy ſoon grew alarming. It became neceſſary to commiſſion ſome perſon to go to the frontiers, to feel the cauſe of theſe aggreſſions, to remonſtrate to the French, and to ſoothe the reſentment of the Indian tribes. That Major

WASHINGTON, then a youth, who had but juſt arrived at the computed age of diſcretion, ſhould be appointed to this important duty excited aſtoniſhment. But this aſtoniſhment was ſoon loſt in the greater degree of ſurpriſe and admiration at the ability with which he executed the truſt. This miſſion, and the manly and able report, which he made upon the ſubject to Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie, eſtabliſhed his reputation as a public character, worthy of confidence. In the war which followed, and of which theſe encroachments were the faithful precurſors, before he was yet twenty-three years of age, he acquired a wreath of military fame, by reſcuing the remains of Braddock's ſlaughtered band. With that modeſty due an officer ſuperior in command, he warned his General of his danger. But though ſecond in command, the event proved he was firſt in penetration. The foreſight of WASHINGTON would have ſaved this moſt lamentable defeat, and prevented the triumph of ſavage barbarity. Colonel WASHINGTON, during this war, was actively employed in defence of the frontiers, until the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine, when, in conſequence of ill health, he reſigned his command. That without which all other bleſſings afford no enjoyment, having been gradually reſtored, he married Mrs. CUSTIS, of the ſame age with himſelf, and ſettled as a farmer on his eſtate at Mount Vernon. Venerable widow! Accept our ſincere condolence for the loſs of the man, whom we love to honor. Bereaved woman! If thoſe, who have never

ſeen him, weep at the recollection of his virtues and the public calamity of his loſs; how inconſolable muſt be her grief, who viewed in him an affectionate and tender huſband! But why weep? His ſorrows are at an end. His triumphs of pure felicity have commenced. The laurels have only dropped from his head to give place to a crown of immortal glory.

See the philoſopher cultivating the arts of peace at his beloved Vernon. As a member of aſſembly, magiſtrate and judge of their courts, he mixed with his retirement ſufficient action to ſatisfy a great and good mind, that placed its happineſs in its utility. But events ſoon began to diſcloſe the high deſtinies for which providence had deſignated the character of WASHINGTON. The coercive and miſtaken policy of Great-Britain ſoon opened in this weſtern world a theatre of glory unrivalled in the annals of time. Having been twice choſen a delegate to Congreſs, at the commencement of our revolutionary war, on the ever memorable fifteenth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, he was unanimouſly appointed commander in chief of the American army. How "he formed from raw materials, a diſciplined army;" what fatigues he endured; what anxiety; what watchings; how his bravery won; how his prudence ſaved; in ſucceſs, how meek; in adverſity, how undiſmayed; in the gloomy campaigns of ſeventy-ſix and ſeventy-ſeven, when, with a handful of men in the face of a powerful enemy, all was derangement; when ſickneſs ravaged and deſertion thinned your

ranks; when hunger and nakedneſs threatened diſſolution to the ſcanty remnant; when diſcouragement brooded in every heart; when even your Congreſs grew faint in well doing; when every eye looked to him for ſafety; with what divine firmneſs he upheld your tottering intereſts, preſſing upon this one man with the weight of Atlas; with what confidence in the juſtice of your cauſe, with what firm reliance "on him, whoſe providential aids can remedy every human defect," he ſurmounted all difficulties; with what more than human ſkill he remedied every diſcouragement under which a General could labor, many of you have witneſſed, all of you will recollect. At length, the capture of Burgoyne and the glories of Yorktown calmed your anxieties, and gave the brightneſs of day to your hopes. The prize was won. Independence was ours. The rainbow of peace appears in the Heavens. What diffuſion of joy throughout America! What relief does it bring to the laboring mind of WASHINGTON.

Forget that he ever led your armies to victory. With the pencil of oblivion obliterate every trace of his former ſervices. The cloſing ſcene alone of the war, would entitle him to the everlaſting gratitude of his country and the ceaſeleſs eulogiums of poſterity. His goodneſs preſerved to you, what his wiſdom and valor had won. He placed you on the baſe of freedom and independence, and then upheld you in their enjoyment. He nipped the firſt

buddings of military deſpotiſm, and cruſhed a civil war in embryo.

Hark! what acclamations rend the ſky! It is for your chief. Behold him changed by age, worn down with toils, his countenance furrowed with his cares of you; behold him, all covered with glory, returning a private man to his farm from the field of victory. Regarding himſelf as the humble inſtrument under Heaven, of carrying into effect its high decree, that the United States ſhould be *Free*, *Sovereign* and *Independent*, and with that humility, which ſuch a ſentiment muſt neceſſarily inſpire, with what exultation is he hailed the father of his country! What enraptured crowds impede his paſſage! With tears of gratitude ſtreaming from their eyes, and hands uplift to Heaven, they implore its richeſt bleſſings upon him.

It was not long before a new æra of glory commenced in the life of WASHINGTON. He preſides in the ever memorable Convention, that formed our Conſtitution. An Empire is founded. Three millions of people, in order to ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to themſelves and their poſterity, upon cool deliberation, adopt the Federal Conſtitution. Sublime event! How perfectly did his virtues meet the public confidence! See the ſage of Vernon unanimouſly called from his retreat, to adminiſter the firſt and moſt important office of the union. Seldom is it, that great military virtues are united with talents for the cabinet; but in WASHINGTON the union was complete. Indeed, during our revolutionary war, America was as much

indebted for the attainment of her object to his counsels, as to the success of her arms. With what admirable skill does he preside in our national councils! Trying were the times and arduous his duty. Our country had not as yet learnt to wield its own strength. It had not begun to feel any common principle of action. We were vulnerable at all points by the crooked policy of European cabinets. Every shaft of foreign intrigue left a wound in our independence. The conflagration of war in Europe threatened to involve the world in its ruins. It was a war, that for a time looked as if it would leave to the goddess of peace no resting place on this globe. WASHINGTON, calm and self-collected, looked through the darkness. He saw the desirable stand, which the interests of his country required it should take. He resolved that America should be neutral. By the approbation of two succeeding houses of Congress, the policy was acknowledged to be upright, and essential to the dearest interests of America. It remained then for the chief magistrate, with unremitting vigilance, to preserve his country in the station which she had taken. All the acts of his administration, which after this excited any sensibility, turned upon the grand question, whether America should preserve her neutrality, or throw herself back into the margin of the whirlpool and be swallowed up in the vortex of a common cause. To be convinced, that the same good providence, which always seemed to direct his measures to his country's greatest good, did not desert him

on this occaſion, look at the miſeries of Europe, contemplate your own happineſs. This important ſtep of his adminiſtration will form no inconſiderable part of the future themes of his wiſdom. Yet, however, he did not eſcape the faſhionable malevolence of the day. The ocean of politics was in commotion; but WASHINGTON ſtretched forth his hand over the turbid elements, they knew the ſignal, and all was peace. The Cerberus of faction growled its curſes at him; but his integrity and firmneſs charmed the monſter into an everlaſting ſleep. Malice pretended, that by her magnifying optics, ſhe had diſcovered defects in his character; but it required only natural eyes to ſee, that what ſhe deſcribed as ſpots in the character of WASHINGTON, were only ſpecks in her glaſſes. Diſcontent lifted up her lonely and diſcordant note; but it was ſoon drowned in the general plaudits of approbation, that reſounded from all parts of the continent.

Having, at your unanimous election, twice ſerved you as Preſident of the United States, when in his opinion it was compatible with your intereſts, and not till then, his fondneſs for retirement returned, and he declined your favors at the enſuing election. Events did not long ſuffer him to enjoy the ſweets of private life. The calls of his country again reached him. The voice of danger drew him from his retreat. In the view of the world the monument of his fame was complete; yet (wonderful to tell!) it admitted of another cap-ſtone. What could induce the venerable chief, grown grey in for-

ty-five years of ſervice devoted to his country, what could induce him to hazard his fame by again accepting the command of your armies? Was it for perſonal emolument? No. That he ſhould receive no reward was the only condition on which he would accept the appointment. Was it for glory? No. He was full of glory. He had already acquired more, than had ever fallen to the lot of any one man. For what then? For his love of us. Though all had been terror and diſtruſt, now all was confidence and ſecurity. You feared no dangers under WASHINGTON, your leader. Old men were ready for the battle and even cowards grew brave.

We have remarked the riſing ſplendor of this ſun of glory; we have traced it through the ſerene and lucid brightneſs of its courſe, and it now remains that we notice the unclouded majeſty with which it ſinks beneath the horizon of this world, to be bleſt with the morn of a happier clime. The diſorder, which is to do its work in the ſhort ſpace of two days, ſeizes him. Though ſlight at firſt, WASHINGTON, as if he had ſome ſupernatural intimation of the event, knew and welcomed the meſſenger. He requeſts his friends to permit him to depart in peace, aſſuring them that death had no terrors to him. With his own hand he cloſes his lips and his eyes upon this world forever. The preſent occaſion, the ſurrounding tokens of grief and mourning, and more than all, our tears, teſtify, ah! too fully teſtify, that the political ſaviour of his country, that WASHINGTON, the great and the good——No; he ſtill

lives. He lives in the happineſs of his country, in its inſtitutions, in its monuments. He ſurvives in our hearts. We ſeem ſtill to ſee him watch with fatherly affection our intereſts. We ſeem ſtill to ſee the lines of his countenance marked with heart felt ſolicitude for our welfare. Hah! He waves his hand and opes his mouth to ſpeak. "WARRIORS! STATESMEN! FREEMEN! CITIZENS! Objects of my care and children of my affection. Sacredly maintain the conſtitution, which is the work of your hands. It is the chief pillar in the edifice of your independence, and the ſupport of that liberty which you ſo highly prize. Frown with indignation at the idea of a ſeparation of your communities. Cheriſh your union as the palladium of your political ſafety and proſperity. Control party ſpirit; it is the bane of free governments and grows with luxuriance in republics. Aſſuage its affects, left by the alternate domination of one faction over another, ſharpened by revenge, the public mind, at length tired of change, ſhould ſeek repoſe in the abſolute power of ſome individual, who will eſtabliſh his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty. Support religion, it is the prop of civil ſociety. Promote the diffuſion of knowledge and morality. Cultivate peace, and obſerve good faith and juſtice towards all nations. Religion and morality equally enjoin it. Can it be, that the ALL WISE has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? It is the decree of Heaven, that the moment you ceaſe to be a virtuous, you ceaſe to be a free

people. Watch with jealous vigilance the infidious wiles of foreign influence; it is the deadly foe of Republican Governments. Extend commercial; but avoid political connections. Hear and obſerve this laſt advice of parting friendſhip; thus ſhall you perpetuate your national exiſtence, your conſtitution and your liberties, till you and your lateſt poſterity ſhall be transferred to the ſleep of your fathers, as I am to the manſions of reſt."

MASONIC BRETHREN,

It is decent under the forms of our order, to expreſs our ſorrow for the loſs of a dearly beloved brother. Yet, on this occaſion, to arrogate to ourſelves pre-eminence in grief, is a claim that our fellow-citizens will not admit. Indeed, we have loſt the worthieſt of brothers; but the world has loſt the firſt of men. We mourn the brighteſt ornament of our order; but mankind lament the brighteſt ornament of human nature. We grieve to ſee the moſt ſtately pillar in the edifice of maſonry laid low; but America ſorrows for the loſs of the chief builder in the temple of her independence. So great is the public calamity, that there ſeems to be no room left for private and ſelfiſh ſorrow. Oh! that I could adopt a language, that ſhould durably impreſs upon your mind the order with which he governed, and his punctuality in opening and cloſing the lodge, of which he was maſter; that ſhould keep forever in your view the eaſe, with which he deſcended from the higheſt calls of his country, to the moſt minute duties of private

life; that ſhould cauſe you never to forget his examplary obſervance of the threefold duty of man, and above all of that important part of maſonic inſtruction, which is ſo hard for mankind in general to learn, but which was ſo eaſy and familiar to him, that his ſublime mind ſeemed ever to be alive to the impreſſion, that he was acting under the *all inſpecting Eye of Heaven*; then might we flatter ourſelves, that it is not in vain, that we meet this day under the badges of maſonry, to mingle our griefs with the griefs of our country, for the loſs of him, who was alike, the common father and brother of us all.

It is with ſatisfaction we obſerve the intereſt, which all claſſes of citizens take in the occaſion, particularly the reſpectable attention paid us by a neighboring town. Well may we be deſirous to pay a tribute of reſpect to the memory of the departed WASHINGTON. Well may we take a melancholy delight in recollecting his virtues, for, alas!

"We ne'er ſhall look upon his like again."

Whatever view we take of this great man, we find cauſe for wonder. If we view the effects, which his labors have had upon the happineſs of his country, and the advantages, which in all probability poſterity will reap from them, we can aſſign no limits to our opinion of his uſefulneſs. If we conſider the difficulties, which he ſurmounted, we are wonder-ſtruck. If we contemplate the motives of his actions, we are loſt in admiration. We forget for a moment, that he was a man. We regard him as ſome

propitious divinity, ſent from a better world than this, to take America by the hand and lead her to independence, freedom and happineſs. In him was no rage of adventure. Here was no mercenary views of private emolument. No. His ſervices were unbought. They were free-will offerings at the altar of patriotiſm. The ruling paſſion of his ſoul was the love of his country. To this every ſubordinate wiſh gave place. He was peculiarly attached to the purſuits of agriculture and private life. The ſhades of Vernon were ever more grateful to him, than even the laurels of Trenton. Yet when his country called, he left the path of inclination to follow that of duty. Great too was the ſacrifice on his part, for he left affluence and eaſe, to endure a life of danger, anxiety and fatigue.

It is pleaſing to remark, with what unvarying conſtancy his fellow-citizens followed him with their favors. They always called him to the firſt office in their power to confer, and were always unanimous in the call. Great and good man! Correct and generous freemen! Which ſhall we moſt admire, the acknowledged ſuperiority of the man, or the judgment of a virtuous, free and enlightened people.

Neither the annals of ancient or modern times afford a parallel of the character we are contemplating. Examine the pretenſions of the ſon of Philip, ycleped Alexander the great. He was great in ambition, great in the millions he ſlaughtered, in the number of countries he laid waſte, in the number of cities and towns he burnt. He was great in the miſery he diffuſed.

Alexander was greatly wicked. WASHINGTON was greatly good. The Macedonian was a remarkable inſtance of the union of greatneſs with guilt. The American has not a ſingle pillar erected to his greatneſs, that is not baſed on his virtue.

Nor can the ape of Alexander's greatneſs, the modern hero of Aſia and Afric, boaſt a nearer competition. Buonaparte to the hero of America! The gaſconading invader of Egypt to WASHINGTON!—A *dwarf* to Hercules!! The only trait in the character of Buonaparte, that is as yet unequivocally eſtabliſhed, is a furious and irreſiſtible bravery, that the tygers may enjoy in common with him. Where is the durability of his conqueſts? Where the happineſs, which he has given to any portion of the human race? Where his humanity? Where his piety? We aſk in vain. A ſingle flaſh of juſtice from the countenance of WASHINGTON is ſufficient to ſtrike dead every laurel on his brow; and while the American will hold the firſt ſeat in the temple of virtue, the conqueror of Italy will not be admitted within the threſhold.

If we combine all the individual excellencies of the heroes we recollect, they ſtill form an incomplete character of WASHINGTON. He united the prudence of Fabius, the calm intrepidity and reſources of Hannibal, with the civic virtues of a Marcus Aurelius. He was inflexible in juſtice as Ariſtides, and generous to his enemies as Cæſar, with this difference, that generoſity in Cæſar proceeded from the gratification

of perſonal favor; but in WASHINGTON it was the effect of a diffuſive benevolence, that ſhowered happineſs upon all objects within the limits of its power. Dignified without haughtineſs, humble without meanneſs, firm without obſtinacy, warm and exemplary in piety, no bigot, no perſecutor of religion, he bid farewell to this world, and was followed with the united bleſſings of every ſect of chriſtianity, with the affection of his country, and with the admiration of the world.

Such was the man the world has loſt! Such was the man America mourns! What a ſubject of lamentation to the preſent age! What a mighty theme of admiration for unborn poſterity! How ever diſtant the time, in whatever country afar off an American citizen may be a pilgrim, with whatever weight of miſery he may be preſſed, at the name of WASHINGTON he ſhall ſtand "on tiptoe" and ſwell with the pride of his country; however callous to the touches of humanity, his fortune may have made him, a ſenſation of benevolence ſhall cauſe the tears to guſh from his eyes; however brutified by wickedneſs, he ſhall be bleſt with a momentary gleam of devotion to his GOD. Long, long ſhall the goodneſs of the great Chief of America form the traditionary tale at the Indian fireſide. It ſhall ſerve as a paſſport through the wilderneſs, and, at the ſound of his name, the mercileſs ſavage ſhall ſpare his captive. At the recollection of him, we ſhall all of us grow candid, and bury in ſilence the odious epithets of party diſtinction.

Alas! he is no more. The Almighty hath viſited us in judgment and in power. But we are not left without the peculiar ſignatures of his goodneſs. We behold, at the helm of government, WASHINGTON's fellow-laborer in the vineyard of his country's happineſs. In him, upon whom fell his mantle of office, we ſtill ſee vigilance, integrity and wiſdom. JEHOVAH hath made darkneſs his pavilion. Yet we will not diſtraſt that kind providence, which has hitherto protected us. In the ſublimity of ſcripture ſentiment and language, we will unite and ſay, "Although the figtree ſhall not bloſſom, neither ſhall fruit be in the vine, the labour of the olive ſhall fail and the fields ſhall yield no meat, the flock ſhall be cut off from the fold, and there ſhall be no herd in the ſtall; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we will joy in the GOD of our ſalvation."

AN EULOGY,

Pronounced at Newburyport, January 2d, 1800, at the request of the citizens of that town.

BY THOMAS PAINE, A. M.

AMERICANS,

THE Saviour of your country has obtained his last victory. Having reached the summit of human perfection, he has quitted the region of human glory. CONQUEROR OF TIME, he has triumphed over mortality; LEGATE OF HEAVEN, he has returned with the tidings of his mission; FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE, he has ascended to advocate their cause in the bosom of his GOD. Solemn, "as it were a pause in nature," was his transit to eternity; thronged by the shades of heroes, his approach to the confines of bliss;—pæaned by the song of angels, his journey beyond the stars!

The voice of a grateful and afflicted people has pronounced the eulogium of their departed hero—"*first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.*" That this exalted tribute is justly due to his memory, the scar-honored veteran, who has fought under the banners of his glory, the enraptured statesman, who has bowed to the dominion of his eloquence, the hardy cultivator, whose soil has been defended by the prodigies of his valor, the protected citizen, whose peaceful rights have been secured by the

vigilance of his wiſdom ; yea, every fibre, that can vibrate in the heart of an American, will atteſt with agonized ſenſibility.

Born to direct the deſtiny of empires his character was as majeſtic, as the events, to which it was attached, were illuſtrious. In the delineation of its features, the vivid pencil of Genius cannot brighten a trait, nor the blighting breath of Calumny obſcure. His principles were the reſult of organic philoſophy, his ſucceſs of moral juſtice. His integrity aſſumed the port of command, his intelligence the aſpect of inſpiration. Glory, to *many* impregnable, he obtained without ambition ;—popularity, to *all* inconſtant, he enjoyed without jealouſy. The one was his from admiration, the other from gratitude. The former embelliſhed, but could not reward ; the latter followed, but never could lead him. The robuſt vigor of his virtue, like the undazzled eye of the Eagle, was inacceſſible to human weakneſs ; and the unaſpiring temperament of his paſſions, like the regenerating aſhes of the Phœnix, gave new life to the greatneſs it could not extinguiſh. In the imperial dignity of his perſon, was exhibited the auguſt ſtature of his mind :

" See what a grace was ſeated on his brow,
" An eye like Mars, the front of Jove himſelf,
" A combination, and a form indeed,
" Where every God did ſeem to ſet his ſeal,
" To give the world aſſurance of a man !"—*Shakeſpear.*

Oppreſſed by the diſconſolate ſenſibilities, which this melancholy occaſion has excited, yet inſpired by a veneration, which no ſenſe of calamity can ſuſpend, how ſhall the feeble eulogiſt

of the moment retrace the path of the hero through the rugged acclivities of his fame,—how ſhadow the outlines of a life, whoſe influence on ſociety has baffled the imitation of the wiſe,—how define the great proportions of a character, which, like the electric principle, can only be deſcribed by its effects? What wing of human deſcription ſhall ſoar to the unclouded height of his talents, what chymiſtry of human judgment ſhall ſeparate the elements of his virtues?—The magnificence of his deeds has outvied the heraldry of fancy—and the purity of his motives has bewildered the deductions of reaſon.

From his firſt appearance on the theatre of public life, ere the modeſt ſimplicity of enterprize had invited the decorations of artificial honor, ere the "hair-breadth eſcapes" of the Monongahela had elicited the native energies of heroiſm, to the matureſt era of his excellence, when victory had nothing left to beſtow, and Fame herſelf had deſpaired of rendering to his merits their eqvivalent reward, we behold the ſame undeviating courſe of magnanimous action, riſing, like the ſun, in gradual and majeſtic progreſſion. In no ſituation, to which the emergencies of his country have called him, however inſulated with peril, or fortified by proſperity, do we at any time detect his invincible equanimity, modified by incident. In no climax of fortune, do we behold him, dejected by obſtacle, or elevated by ſucceſs;—deſperate in danger, or ſanguine in triumph. Deliberate to concert, he was vigorous to execute;—intrepid

to conquer, he was humane to forgive. In council, he united the calculations of the veteran, to the ruling impulse of the patriot;—in battle, he never shed the blood of an enemy but for victory, nor gained a victory but for his country.

As the director of that important and dubious contest, which issued in the establishment of our liberty and independence, he displayed an impressive grandeur of exertion, which marshalled into hostility the fluctuating vigor of his countrymen, and is still remembered with awe in the astonishment of nations. To the rapacious cabinet of the mother country, which had recently learnt, in the disastrous campaign of Braddock, that her glory was mortal, he had given his name a formidable estimation by his military prowess on that memorable occasion. In the enjoyment of an ample paternal domain, he was reposing under the groves of fame and philosophy, when the chafed lion of New-England "leaped on the daring huntsman, that had galled him," and boldly bade defiance to his power. The dawn of our revolution was overshadowed with clouds, that would have damped the ardor of any people, whose bosoms were not inspired by the incontrolable enthusiasm of liberty. But what hope of success could this high-born principle, though stimulated by injury, afford to the unwarlike peasantry of a country, without arms, without discipline, without funds, without a leader, in contending with an empire, whose policy and valor had for centuries kept the nations of Europe in its toils?

Yet, at this inauſpicious juncture, when every proſpect was enveloped with diſaſter, when unſucceſsful oppoſition could promiſe no reward but aggravated oppreſſion, when political infidelity had almoſt chilled with diſmay the kindling fervor of Americans;—at this moment, ſo portentous, ſo gloomy, did the calm, inflexible, unaſſimilating WASHINGTON relinquiſh, without reluctance, the magnificent retirement of wealth and honor; and, committing to the hazard of the conteſt, the pleaſures, that allured him to ſecluſion, and the character, that attached him to life, appealed to the God of armies to atteſt a ſoldier's oath—"*I will triumph, or die with my countrymen!*"——Animated by his guiding intelligence, America awoke to the conſciouſneſs of her powers; and, realiſing the boaſt of the Roman hero, an army, organized by his creative diſcipline, aroſe at his command.

Through the viciſſitudes of a war, ſingularly fluctuating in its fortunes, and deſolating in its effects, he diſcovered a conſtant principle of action, which acquired no luſtre from the brilliant exploits it achieved, but derived all its glory from its own original greatneſs. Self-dependent, and ſelf-elevated, it diſdained the fictitious aid of circumſtance; and never did it ſhine with more ſplendor and energy, than when fortune had deſerted him, and his country had deſpaired. The activity of a fortitude, whoſe ſtability was reaſon, invigorated the operations of an intellect, whoſe object was liberty. What but this invincible conſtitution of ſoul, whoſe gigantic philoſophy always roſe with the

difficulties it encountered, could have ſuſtained the drooping cauſe of an half-conquered people, at that momentous and almoſt hopeleſs criſis, when the banks of the Delaware, were lined by a triumphant enemy, impatient for our ſubjugation; when the ranks of our brave defenders, thinned by battle, by famine and retreat, crimſoned their flying encampments with the blood of their footſteps; when the fate of a continent was ſuſpended on the incredible exertions of a night, and a conſpiracy of the elements oppoſed the progreſs of the eventful enterprize! The mind, that was inacceſſible to deſpair, was invulnerable to diſaſter; and at the inſtant, when the fangs of our Invader were unclutched to faſten on his prey, when his pampered ambition was gloating on the ſpoils of unconditional ſubmiſſion, the diſtant thunder of the cannon at Trenton arouſed him from his dreams of dominion, and convinced him that the reſources of a WASHINGTON were not to be computed by the extent of his entrenchments, nor his activity to be palſied by a campaign of diſaſters.

To the pen of the hiſtorian muſt be reſigned the more arduous and elaborate tribute of juſtice to thoſe efforts of heroic and political virtue, which conducted the American people to peace and liberty.—The vanquiſhed foe retired from our reſpiring ſhores, and left to the CONTROLING GENIUS, who repelled them, the gratitude of his own country, and the admiration of the world. The time had now arrived, which was to apply the touchſtone to his integrity,—

which was to assay the affinity of his principles to the standard of immutable right. Enjoying the unbounded confidence of an emancipated people, whose filial reverence had associated in his character, a greatness, unexampled by patriotism, with a purity, unsunned by suspicion,—and commanding the implicit affections of an army of veterans, whose unliquidated demands, on the justice of an impoverished public, might have rendered them zealous instruments of ambition,—the deliverer of his country was now the arbiter of its fate. It was now the flood-tide of his glory, on which he had only to embark, and the current would have wafted him to his haven. That decisive moment in the existence of nations and men, on which the destinies of both are suspended, was now flitting on the dial's point of the crisis.—On the one hand, a realm, to which he was endeared by his services, almost invited him to empire; on the other, the liberty, to whose protection his life had been devoted, was the ornament and boon of human nature.—WASHINGTON could not depart from his own great self. His country was free;—he was no longer a general! Sublime spectacle! more elevating to the pride of virtue, than the sovereignty of the globe united to the sceptre of ages! Enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, the gorgeous pageantry of prerogative was unworthy the majesty of his dominion. That effulgence of military character, which in ancient states has blasted the rights of the people, whose renown it had brightened, was not *here* permitted, by the hero,

from whom it emanated, to ſhine with ſo deſtructive a luſtre. Its beams, though intenſely reſplendent, did not wither the young bloſſoms of our independence; and liberty, like the *burning buſh*, flouriſhed unconſumed by the glory, which ſurrounded it.

To the illuſtrious founder of our republic was it reſerved, to exhibit the example of a magnanimity, that commanded victory—of a moderation, that retired from triumph. Unlike the erratic meteors of ambition, whoſe flaming path ſheds a diſaſtrous light on the pages of hiſtory, his bright orb, eclipſing the luminaries, among which it rolled, never portended "fearful change" to religion, nor from its "golden treſſes" ſhook peſtilence on empire. What to *other* heroes has been glory, would to *him* have been diſgrace. To *his* intrepidity it would have added no honorary trophy, to have waded, like the conqueror of Peru, through the blood of credulous millions, to plant the ſtandard of triumph at the burning mouth of a volcano! To *his* fame it would have erected no auxiliary monument, to have invaded, like the ravager of Egypt, an innocent, though barbarous nation, to inſcribe his name on the pillar of *Pompey!*

Self, the grand hinge, on which revolve the principles and paſſions, that have ſwelled the obituary of nations, made not an unit in the calculations of a mind, which conſidered grandeur as the inſeparable incident of rectitude;—which owed to fortune nothing of its glory, to enthuſiaſm nothing of its virtue. From "heaven's high chancery" had iſſued his commiſſion;—he

obeyed the godlike precept it contained ;—he created a nation ! The glorious work completed, ſo was his ambition. The reward of his labors was the enjoyment of that liberty he had protected from violation ; and the boaſt of his pride was the cultivation of that ſoil he had defended from ſubjection. Amid the fondeſt careſſes of fame, that purſued him to retirement, ——bluſh ye heroic murderers of mankind !—never did the tranſcendant WASHINGTON, on the pinnacle of his greatneſs, deign to be conſcious, that by *his* talents his country was free, —that in *her* glory himſelf was immortal !

Public opinion has in all ages been as volatile as the air, that wafts it ;—and the fate, which has attended the benefactors of their country, has been as chequered as the paſſions, and perverſe as the ingratitude of man. A tyrant, ſainted by the people he had enſlaved, has been elevated to a niche in the Pantheon ; while a hero, whoſe talents and ſervices had propped a falling empire, has found at laſt a more faithful friend in the maſtiff that conducted him, than in the nation he had protected. But it has been the peculiar lot of a WASHINGTON, to unite to an integrity, which could impeach the ambition of malice, the vigilance of an enterpriſe, which could arreſt the deciſions of fortune. Through the long labors of a life, which forms an epoch in hiſtory, never for a moment was he rivalled in the affections of his countrymen ; and to the honor of Americans, be it recorded, that their gratitude to the man, who had eſtabliſhed their independence, exiſted, at

the period of impending anarchy, the only cementing bond of union, which preserved their jarring interests from a destructive collision.

The temporary structure of the old confederation, which had been planned merely for the purposes of a revolutionary government, when the passions of the people were united, was found, upon a brief experiment, to be totally incompetent to direct the affairs of an extending nation, when peace had restored the complicated occupations of life, and demanded a more uniform protection from the energies of law. The inconveniences, resulting from its defects, had given occasion to designing demagogues, who hoped to profit by a separation of the states, to foment divisions among a people, who too lightly valued the blessings they enjoyed. The union of the country was in danger; and the evil was of too baneful a nature to admit of a partial or dilatory remedy. But, how novel, how aspiring, was the hope of connecting, under one compact code of general jurisprudence, so many distinct sovereignties, each jealous of its independence, without impairing their respective authorities! The unbalanced bodies of the confederacy had almost overcome the attracting power, that restrained them; when the watchful guardian of his country's interests, the heart-uniting WASHINGTON appeared, the political magnet in the center of discord, and reconciled and consolidated the clashing particles of the system in an indissoluble union of government.

Possessing, as well from experience, as intuition, the master science, that could direct the

impulſes of human action;—and inveſted, by the crowded benefactions of a life of glory, with a charm of eloquence, which impreſſed the convictions of reaſon on the pliant gratitude of his countrymen;—he ruled in the councils of that auguſt body of ſtateſmen and patriots, the fruit of whoſe cooperating talents was the preſent conſtitution of America. By the unanimous ſuffrage of an enlightened and confiding people, appointed to the adminiſtration of a government, in whoſe conſtruction he had exerted ſo beneficial an influence, he brought, to the execution of that important and arduous truſt, the energy of a mind, whoſe elevation could borrow no dignity from ſtation, and the integrity of a heart, whoſe ſenſibility could receive no bias but from his country. With what wiſdom and vigor he diſcharged the hazardous and thronging duties of an incipient magiſtracy, the revival of political harmony, the extended confidence of commerce, the unexampled encreaſe of national credit and wealth, and the happineſs and morality of the people, will furniſh a more ſatisfactory evidence, than the moſt brilliant deſcription of the panegyriſt. In this unprecedented tranſition of office, his character had aſſumed a new and aſtoniſhing attitude;—the impenetrable hardywood of the conqueror was rivalled by the intelligent policy of the ſtateſman. Pierced by the glance of his adminiſtration, PARTY, like the recreant eye of the felon, ſhrunk abaſhed from his ſcrutiny; and, unnerved by the ſanctity of his perſon, DEGENERACY, like the viper at *Melita*, fell

harmleſs from his hand.—Appalled by the oppreſſive contemplation of his greatneſs, the "cloud-capt" creſt of AMBITION was overawed by the majeſty of virtue;—and, maddened to deſperation by the invulnerable purity of his life, the ſnakes of ENVY recoiled upon the head of their miſtreſs, and burrowed to the brain, that ſupplied their venom.

EXEMPLAR OF HEROES! in what favored nation, or era, ſhall the exulting philanthropiſt record the exiſtence of a character, uniting, like thine, in one bright conſtellation of talents, every civic and military glory, that blazons in legend, or beams in hiſtory?—Should we ſearch in the archives of claſſic antiquity, we might find a wiſe and venerable Fabius, who, like thee, could "ſave a nation by delay;"*—but never, like thee, could ſeize victory by enterprize, and outſtride fortune by the foreſight of philoſophy!—We might behold the majeſtic Cincinnatus, who, like thee, in the vigor of Roman heroiſm, could return from the conqueſt of his country's enemies, to his humble *Mount Vernon* beyond the *Tyber*;—but never, like thee, to protect from faction the liberties he had wreſted from invaſion! We might trace the great Julius, extending the terror of his eagles, through realms before unſhadowed by their pinions;—we might follow him to the forum, and liſten to an eloquence, like thine, when applauding ſenates inſtinctly moved at his control;—but *where*, in the map of *thy* victories, ſhall we find the banks of a *Rubicon*!

* PHILENIA.

Encumbered with honors, the father of his country once more returned to the unambitious abodes of his affection, followed by the tears and bleſſings of his fellow-citizens!—The glory, which had encircled the ſcenes of his action, could not be excluded by the ſolitude of retirement. He had deveſted the inſignia of command—but his empire was not diminiſhed. He had ſurrendered the badges of fame—but the gaze of the world did not ſuſpend its veneration. The *name* of WASHINGTON was ſtill a battlement to his country, under whoſe protection liberty exulted, at whoſe terrors hoſtility trembled.

Though remote from the cauſes of European conteſt, yet affected by the convulſions it excited, in vain had our nation attempted to maintain with honor an unprotected neutrality. Piracy plundered the ocean;—Invaſion threatened our ſhores.—Again, were the eyes of America directed with trembling ſolicitude to her venerable deliverer; and, *again* did this MAN WITHOUT EXAMPLE, THIS PATRIOT WITHOUT REPROACH, whoſe life was his country, whoſe glory was mankind, reſign with alacrity, to the cauſe he had ſworn to defend, the tranquil hope of repoſe, to which he had devoted the unclouded evening of a life of toils!—The character was perfect! WASHINGTON now touched "the higheſt point of all his greatneſs." A more than human ſplendor ſurrounded him. The etherial ſpirit of his virtues towered above the globe they adorned, and ſeemed to meditate their departure to their native manſion.—Of the frailty of man, nothing now remained but

his mortality; and, having accompliſhed the embaſſy of a benevolent Providence—having been the founder of one nation, and the ſublime inſtructor of all—HE TOOK HIS FLIGHT TO HEAVEN;——not like *Mahomet*, for his memory is immortal without the fiction of a miracle;——not like *Elijah*, for recording Time has not regiſtered the man, *on whom his mantle ſhould deſcend*;——but in humble imitation of that OMNIPOTENT ARCHITECT, who returned from a created univerſe, to contemplate from his throne the ſtupendous fabric he had erected!

The auguſt form, whoſe undaunted majeſty could arreſt the lightning, ere it fell on the boſom of his country, now ſleeps in ſilent ruin, untenanted of its celeſtial eſſence. But the incorruptible example of his virtues ſhall ſurvive, unimpaired by the corroſion of time; and acquire new vigor and influence, from the crimes of ambition, and the decay of empires. The invaluable valediction, bequeathed to the people, who inherited his affections, is the effort of a mind, whoſe powers, like thoſe of prophecy, could overleap the tardy progreſs of human reaſon, and unfold truth without the labor of inveſtigation. Impreſſed in indellible characters, this LEGACY OF HIS INTELLIGENCE will deſcend, unſullied as its purity, to the wonder and inſtruction of ſucceeding generations; and, ſhould the mild philoſophy of its maxims be ingrafted into the policy of nations, at no diſtant period will the departed hero, who now lives only in the ſpotleſs ſplendor of his own great ac-

tions, exiſt in the happineſs and dignity of mankind.

The ſighs of cotemporary gratitude have attended the SUBLIME SPIRIT to its paternal abode; and the prayers of ameliorated poſterity will aſcend in glowing remembrance of their illuſtrious benefactor!—The laurels, that now droop, as they ſhadow his tomb with monumental glory, will be cultivated by the tears of ages; and, embalmed in the heart of an admiring world, the temple, erected to his memory, will be more glorious than the *pyramids*, and as eternal as his own imperiſhable virtues!

AN EULOGY,

Pronounced at Merrimack, February 22d, 1800.

BY JACOB M'GAW, A. M.

LONG has this anniverſary been hailed "Happy day," by the joyous acclamations of every real American. And well might it be, becauſe the incomparably wiſe, immoveably patriotic, and unboundedly humane WASHINGTON ſtill lived. But alas, the ſad reverſe! All his virtues, and all our prayers, could not ſave him from the grave! That GOD, whom he adored, and who kindly lent him to us, to be our father, friend, protector and example, has juſtly taken him home, properly to reward thoſe virtues which men could only admire. Well may we mourn when doubly afflicted. WASHINGTON is no more, and our days of "feaſting are turned into days of mourning." At the bereavement of a few, many mingle their ſympathetic tears; when a nation then loſes their common father, the world muſt be deluged in woe.

To do juſtice, in delineating a character, ſo ſuperlatively excellent, would require talents no leſs brilliant than himſelf poſſeſſed. Shall his memory therefore lay neglected for want of that elegance in recital, which is its due, and which very few can juſtly portray? No; but the intrinſic luſtre of our ſubject will give currency to the rude deſcription of his private

integrity, his public virtue, and his generous valor.

Our illuſtrious Hero, General GEORGE WASHIGNTON, was the ſon of a wealthy planter in Virginia, and was born on the twenty-ſecond day of February, A. D. 1732. The early dawnings of his brilliant genius could not paſs unnoticed by, as every emanation afforded double luſtre from its being founded on the ſtricteſt rules of morality. Thus, in the morning of life, when ſcarcely twenty-one years of age, he was called upon by his ſovereign to perform the difficult office of ſettling a difference, then exiſting, between one of our colonies, on the one part, and Canada, (then in poſſeſſion of the French nation) on the other. His country's good being always his primary temporal object, he undertook this tedious journey, of more than four hundred miles, on foot, in the moſt ſevere ſeaſon of the year, through a dreary wilderneſs.

But a few years afterwards, in the capacity of a Colonel, he began to diſplay his wiſdom and valor in the field of bloody war. In the year 1755, under the command of the courageous, but unfortunate General Braddock, he fought with diſtinguiſhed bravery a ſavage foe; and when his experienced but raſh commander fell a victim to ſavage fineſſe, the fertile genius of our invincible WASHINGTON found a retreat for himſelf and the remains of his intrepid little army, through ſurrounding foes, over the dead bodies of his ſlaughtered countrymen, which, though ſhocking to his humanity, would have

done honor to the moſt experienced veteran. Great-Britain beheld the gallant youth with admiration! Infant America, with pride and faſcinating proſpects of his future uſefulneſs. Though almoſt twenty ſucceſſive years paſſed from this time, which did not call forth any ſignal diſplay of his talents, yet the anxious eyes of his fellow-countrymen anticipated his future rule.

Scenes now preſent themſelves, which muſt harrow up your ſouls with the tendereſt emotions, and ſtretch every nerve of ſenſibility to the utmoſt degree of tenſion.

When our mother country forgot our mutual tender ties, and called not for our affection, but, for our liberties, or our lives; then was the now departed WASHINGTON, under God, our ſaviour.

With painful ſenſibility, ſome of you, my fathers, recollect the memorable battle at Bunker's Hill, where nobly fell ſome of your brave brethren, yourſelves, perhaps, bleed in defence of your liberties. All this had been in vain, and liberty been chained in everlaſting blood, had not WASHINGTON ſoon come to your aid. Nothing but his all aſſimilating genius could have retained in one band thoſe ſame troops, when, ſoon afterwards, they were encamped in that vicinity, and reconcile the militating characters of freemen, in affluent circumſtances, and private ſoldiers, on which depended every thing by you held dear. Will you not look back with gratitude on the memory of the man, whoſe wiſdom, in that all important moment,

united your hearts, though at the risk of your lives, in the protection of your loving wives, your tender offspring, and your invaluable liberties? What must our sensations be, my youthful brethren, when we reflect on those dreadful moments, and mark their issue? Our father's lives in jeopardy, our mothers wasting our infant cheeks with tears, while they fondly held us in their arms and gave us nourishment, and yet, both they and us protected by the unprecedented military prowess and matchless political skill of our fame immortal hero! Can we omit to offer up our most hearty gratitude to God, to the sainted Washington, and to our venerated fathers? Duty, virtue, reason, all combine to answer for us—We cannot omit it.

Fame was never the object pursued by him, whose loss this nation's tears now witness; but honors, unfading as the brightest stars, accumulated, till slander forgot itself in viewing the grand constellation.

When haughty Britain triumphed over our afflictions, when she wantonly spread devastation in our land, when our army was reduced to an handful, and that handful half naked and badly fed, when the very elements seemed to conspire against us, then did Washington effect a victory, which astonished the world, and gave easy respiration to the gasping liberties of America. This distressing and awfully sublime scene was acted at Trenton, in New-Jersey, whose then frozen soil was fertilized by the blood, which it gushed from the naked feet of our brave defenders.

Time will not allow me any further to trace the magnanimity of our hero, in our revolutionary war; ſuffice it to ſay, his wiſdom conducted it to an iſſue as favorable as was our higheſt ambition.

The horrid din of war being over and his country being free, the ambition of wiſdom's human prince was ſatisfied; and having arrived at the acme of military glory, he reaſſumed his favorite employment, that of an huſbandman. At Mount Vernon, his elegant ſeat, he enjoyed the ſweets of domeſtic affection and rural quiet, diffuſing, by his example, virtue through his vicinity, and relief to thoſe in want, by anticipating their neceſſities. While this enchanting ſcene laſted, his penetrating eye ſurveyed, with anxiety for their welfare, thoſe enraptured millions, whom he had recently and glorioufly conducted to freedom. Well he perceived that thoſe ſlender threads of union, which connected our ſeveral independent States, could only endure while abſolute danger created a neceſſity for mutual aſſiſtance, and while the general intoxication of recent victory made our citizens forget that their States were ſeveral and their liberties mortal. The fumes of the ſpirit having ſubſided, and ſober reaſon gained its proper empire in the mind; our country found that danger was not over, but had only changed its aſpect. Jarring intereſts produced miſtruſt and jealouſy, and though a foreign foe had ceaſed to invade us, yet civil war, with all its deſolating concomitants, threatened us with ſpeedy deſtruction. In this encreaſed impor-

tant moment, though WASHINGTON had once bid adieu "to all the employments of a public life," yet now he could not refrain his salutary advice, which, by uniting the minds of our Grand National Council, had effect in forwarding to us a Constitution equally wise in its structure and happy in its operation. As Americans are ever jealous of their rights, large parties feared the operation of this grand fabric; but having resolved to try the issue of it, all, with one voice and one heart, called from his peaceful abode the late commander in chief of their armies, to fill the chair of the supreme executive officer.

The wisdom, the virtue, the self-denial of the man, on that occasion, will best be exhibited to you, in a short abstract from his address to Congress on his accepting that appointment. "On the one hand," says he, "I was summoned by my country, (whose voice I can never hear, but with veneration and love) from a retreat, which I had chosen with fondest predilection (and in my fondest hopes) with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more and more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of the frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but

overwhelm with deſpondency one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unexperienced in the duties of civil adminiſtration, ought to be peculiarly conſcious of his own deficiences. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful ſtudy to collect my duty, from a juſt appreciation of every circumſtance, by which it might be effected." Now, who will dare to ſay, that this examplary humility has not reigned predominantly through all his after conduct? Who will be ſo hardened in falſehood, as to ſay, that his firmneſs and integrity (of which he never boaſted) do not ſtand without a parallel on the pages of hiſtory? Who will dare to ſay, he did not juſtly appreciate every circumſtance of his duty, and devote himſelf ſolely to the good of his country? If there be any ſuch in our land, let him know, that he has proved himſelf a knave, and deſerves the execrations of every American and every chriſtian.

Here let us view with admiration and pleaſure the happy effects of his wiſe adminiſtration. Having nothing like perſonal aggrandizement for his object, (for ſuch motives he deſpiſed) he almoſt wrought miracles, in reconciling diſcontented parties to the Conſtitution, in encreaſing our wealth, by extending our commerce, and in placing our national credit on the moſt reſpectable footing. And though our Conſtitution exhibited to the world a ſpectacle ſo novel, that it was conſidered dangerous; yet, under the management of WASHINGTON, it yielded protection and happineſs to its ſubjects, ſtruck

the world with admiration for its plan, and awe for its adminiſtration.

Happily did the brave ſons of America lull away in ſecurity the firſt term of his adminiſtration, enjoying the bleſſings of that glorious liberty, for which they ſo freely bled.

Now, for the firſt time, was the preſidential chair about to be vacated, by the expiration of office, conſtitutionally limited to four years; and WASHINGTON, worn down with care, fatigued with buſineſs, and loaded with years, had prepared an affectionate valedictory addreſs to his beloved countrymen. Then did you look with anxious concern around your nation, but found no one, whoſe talents, or whoſe knowledge from experience, could ſo well entitle him to your confidence, as him, whom you had long tried and found faithful to your intereſts. Again, called by the ſtill united voice of the people and urged by the earneſt ſolicitations of his friends, he ſuffered a further ſuſpenſion of the pleaſures of that ſituation, which he tells us "he had choſen with the fondeſt predilection, as the aſylum of his declining years," and continued the arduous taſk of Chief Magiſtrate of the United States of America.

To enumerate the bleſſings of that of his laſt term of preſidential office, would be a narration of all that happineſs, which a free and ſovereign nation may enjoy, under the beſt government in the world, adminiſtered in the beſt poſſible manner. The beneficial influence of his well directed rule is ſtill experienced, and can never be forgotten by ſo grateful a people as Americans.

Four years more being added to the advanced age of WASHINGTON, his venerable white hairs admoniſhed him to retire from his long and ever memorable public life. Obedient to the friendly monitor, our hoary ſage again retired to his long and earneſtly ſought for ſolitude.

When about to leave his exalted ſtation, his mind was ſo fraught with chriſtian humility and love of country, that he could not retire without firſt making to his fellow-citizens an addreſs, the overflowings of his truly pious ſoul. In this, he ſtrictly enjoins "the love of country and confidence in our rulers." Then, in a fervent ejaculation, entreats "the Supreme Ruler of the Univerſe, to incline our hearts to love one another and our fellow-citizens at large: That he would be pleaſed to diſpoſe us all to do juſtice, love mercy, and to demean ourſelves, with that charity, humility and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteriſtics of the Divine Author of our bleſſed religion; without an humble imitation of whoſe example, we could never hope to be an happy nation." Could a father, parting from his deareſt children, give better, or more affectionate advice? Surely no. Think on his precepts and imitate his examples, then certainly you have rational proſpects of domeſtic happineſs, national quiet, and everlaſting felicity.

If we recur to hiſtory for his like, we ſearch in vain. There we find an all conquering Alexander, an haughty Cæſar, and a deſigning Cromwell, but no where a WASHINGTON, no

where the able and accomplished General, the ready counsellor, the faithful servant of his country at every call, and the humble christian, united in one man.

Insulted by foreign nations, we were again compelled to put ourselves in an attitude of defence. Again our country called, and again our distinguished veteran girt on the sword. The joyous hearts of our hardy youth leapt at the name of WASHINGTON, as commander in chief of our armies, and were fast flocking to his standard, when Death became his conqueror, in destroying his mortal part, but his servant, in wafting his pious soul to everlasting bliss! Solemn was the scene, and awfully majestic! With the resolution of the philosopher, and the firmness of the christian, he said, "I fear not death;" then, with his own hand, closed his eyes, and expired without a groan! Here will the war-worn soldier pay the tribute, justly due to his memory, in a silent tear. Your sensations, on this occasion, can only be known to those sympathetic hearts, who feel "a brother's woe." The companion of your toils in the camp, the pilot of your safety in the battle, and the father of your political liberty, has paid the debt of nature. "The curtain of life is now drawn between you, and the scene of action, to him, is closed forever."

As we now mourn the loss of our military as well as civil chief, let not the memory of magnanimous Warren and of valorous Montgomery pass without a tear. Know all ye hardy sons of Mars, that though your frames are mortal,

yet military glory ſhall live, while virtue reigns.

Retaining, till his laſt illneſs, the vigor of manhood, in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of all the honors which mortals could beſtow, ſurrounded by a loving family and a grateful nation, well may it be ſaid, that for WASHINGTON to live, would be our gain, to die, was his happineſs.

This day, and on this occaſion, we mourn not alone, but millions of our fellow-citizens join in equal grief. Our loſs is truly great. The name of WASHINGTON, which lately enraptured every heart, now falters on our lips, and tells our loſs; but let us not deſpond. Does not the mantle of Elijah reſt on Eliſha? Does not ADAMS, our long tried friend, ſtill live and guide our proſperous ſtate? True it is, that by the careful hand of WASHINGTON, the roſe of liberty was planted in our land; by his foſtering care, it bloomed and flouriſhed in full luſtre, each returning ſun giving new ſtrength to its root; and when the chilling froſt of death, cut down its fondeſt parent, pitying angels hovered round the flower, and through that diſmal night, ſaved it unhurt;—and now, when nouriſhed by ADAMS, it does not loſe its beauty.

With what rapture will the world dwell on the name of WASHINGTON, when the hiſtorian ſhall give his life complete? What floods of grateful tears ſhall flow from the eyes of thouſands yet unborn, when they ſhall view his humanity? Will not our youth chant grateful lays

to his memory, for the examples of virtue, which he has left them? For his invaluable legacies, how much is the world indebted to him? For all nations will read them, and profit by their inſtruction. Fathers, read them with attention, if you would be happy, and teach them to your children, if you do not wiſh them miſerable.

Yet, let not your gratitude, or praiſe, degenerate to baſe idolatry; but let us adopt the words of the Pſalmiſt, ſo well ſuited to our caſe, and with devouteſt hearts cry out, "If it had not been the Lord, who was on our ſide, now may Iſrael ſay; if it had not been the Lord, who was on our ſide, when men roſe up againſt us; then they had ſwallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled againſt us. Bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

Having taken a curſory view of the deceaſed WASHINGTON, when an infant, when a youth, and when a mighty chief, both in council and in war; with hearts full of grief for his loſs, and gratitude for his ſervices, let us take a long, a laſt, a ſad farewell of the man; and may his virtues live in our lives, and deſcend to our poſterity.

AN ORATION,

Pronounced at Bedford, February 22d, 1800.

BY BENJAMIN ORR, A. B.

THIS anniverſary has often been a ſeaſon of rejoicing to the advocates of liberty, and the friends of humanity, throughout our happy republic. On this day, the hearts of Americans have annually united in gratitnde to the GOD of nations, as it holds up to memory the earlieſt dawnings of our national independence. Sixty-eight years ago, the name of our WASHINGTON was enroled on the liſt of American patriots. The rays of liberty were extinguiſhed in the eaſt—in the weſt, they were ſeen through clouds of oppreſſion. The ſpirit of patriotiſm was imbibed by every true American, and the reſult of their councils was independence. With the increaſing years of our chief patriot, its approach became more conſpicuous; with the exertions of his manhood, it was extorted from the foe; and with the aid of his experienced wiſdom, it was confirmed and dignified.

Well might the grateful rejoicings of freemen be heard in the temple of liberty, in commemoration of ſo great an event; well might they make the birth day of WASHINGTON ſacred to the memory of his virtues, and hallow it as the birth day of their national independence and happineſs. But the acclamations of rejoicing

are changed to the plaintive effuſions of grief. All the virtues of the human mind are in affliction for the loſs of their great patron. WASHINGTON conducts our legions to victory no more—no more the exertions of his wiſdom inſtruct us how to inherit peace. His memory and his counſels are with us—they are deep in our hearts, but the departure of his benign ſpirit, we mourn with the affection of children.

In the eſtabliſhment of Kingdoms and Republics in the eaſtern continent, the ſtruggles between liberty and uſurpation, and the predominance of paſſion over reaſon and humanity, have tarniſhed the deeds of men in power with guilt and oppreſſion. Thoſe nations which have been moſt able in ſubduing the foreign foe, have found a more deſtructive conflict with the rage of internal ambition. While victory is obtained over invaders, or empire extended by new conqueſts, it is all that ambition can hope or deſire; but when the potent and aſpiring warrior, on completing his conqueſts, has failed of that aggrandizement and diſtinction from his country, which his vanity aimed at, his ſword is unſheathed againſt the people from whom his honors were derived, and his triumphs are terminated in the ſlaughter and ſubjugation of his fellow-citizens. The ſovereign, who perſonally aſſumes the command of his victorious army, is in danger of a ſubverſion of his government, only from external enemies. Republics, leſs energetic in their ſovereignty, and equally dependent, in times of hoſtility, on the ableſt character, for the chief man-

agement of their warlike operations, are ſecured in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties, only by the patriotic virtues of their chief commander, in concert with their own.

If, in examining the records of nations, we ſurvey the enlightened and magnificent dominions of the eaſt, where ſhall we find a character, the firſt in power, and the firſt in public and private virtue? Or in whom ſhall we diſcover the tender ſympathies of humanity and the ardor of juſtice, accompanying the uninterrupted ſucceſſes of warfare? Is there a conqueror on the annals of a nation in the eaſtern continent, whoſe ſoul was above the ambition of ſelf-emolument? Is there one, who, regardleſs of the ſplendor of conqueſt, has converted his acquiſitions ſolely to the public good? It is in vain that we extend our enquiries to the earlieſt date of civil government, and trace the riſe and progreſs of kingdoms and republics throughout the world to the preſent time; for the character of our illuſtrious WASHINGTON STANDS ALONE.

His heart was a ſyſtem of all the orders of virtue, regulated by the power of a ſuperlative underſtanding. His mind, conſcious of the imperfection of all human wiſdom, was too humble to acknowledge its own excellence—it was too exalted to ſtoop to the degradation of earthly ſplendor. In ſcenes of the moſt trying perplexity, his wiſdom and fortitude enabled him to ſurmount the ſtorm, and his conceptions ſhone through all his dangers and ſufferings, with invariable luſtre. When he enjoyed the mighty honors of conqueſt, it was with a ſeren-

ity which beſpoke the dignity of his patriotiſm, and his ſympathetic regret for the ravages of unbridled ambition. When ſeated in the high preferment of ſtate, his diſregard of aggrandizement, and the love of his country, turned the clamorous ſpirit of envy into ſilent remorſe. In the tranquility of domeſtic retirement, his affections continued to vibrate with the fondneſs of a parent for his countrymen, and the inviolable maintenance of their dear bought rights, was ſtill the ſubject of his moſt anxious ſolicitude.

Though his deeds of merit have ſurpaſſed all the human efforts of paſt and modern ages—though they have excited the admiration and aſtoniſhment of the world—though they have wounded the vices of the great, tarniſhed the glory of ambition, humbled the triumphs of conqueſt, and converted the imaginary virtues of crowns into droſs; yet, theſe but imperfectly repreſent the ineſtimable powers of the intellectual man. His righteous ſoul has exalted the hope of a happy immortality to the juſt, and taught the virtuous to look upon death, as the laſt meſſenger of peace.

I would not have it underſtood, that we are to aſſume the language of oſtentation, on the account of the favor of Providence in the beſtowment of ſuch an illuſtrious and examplary character, for this would be doing diſhonor to his memory. The memory of WASHINGTON, who never countenanced the ſhadow of pageantry in his life, would be highly diſhonored by any attempt of eulogium, which ſhould be

incompatible with the ſtricteſt tenor of his character. And, indeed, the efforts of youth and inexperience, muſt come far ſhort of that dignified and rigorous propriety, which is neceſſary to give his character its genuine colors.

But we are earneſtly diſpoſed to expreſs our deep ſenſe of his merits, when we conſider what he was to himſelf, to ſociety, to his country and to the human race; nor can we reſtrain the effuſions of an honeſt gratitude, in viewing his ſervices to the preſent age, and our riſing claſs in particular. But how ſhall I expreſs them? Language is faint, and the feelings of humanity overbearing.

When we were rocked in the cradle of infancy, his life was expoſed for our ſafety. While we were nouriſhed in the arms of parental affection, he ſtood as a watchful guardian to our peaceful ſlumbers. Amidſt the din of arms and the blaze of cannon, he protected our parents, the guardians of our hopeful years, from the ravages of the ſword, and the yoke of oppreſſion. And, regardleſs of every object but our common deliverance, he perſevered through the ſufferings of ſtorm and tempeſt—through the convulſions of diſorganization and treaſon—through ſcenes of ſlaughter and devaſtation, for the procurement of that peaceful inheritance, which we now enjoy in ſafety.

The hiſtorians and poets of different ages and nations have exhauſted every power of imagination to embelliſh the deeds of their reſpective heroes and magiſtrates; but they have

often, at the same time, exhibited such contradictory features to the complete character, that the impartial reader, will discover the defect in the midst of their praises. Among those, of whom historians have given the most imminent accounts, a want of the most suitable accommodation of the means to the procurement of the objects in view, and the running to an excess of zeal in their undertakings, are defects which may justly be imputed to the greater number of those, who have been considered wise and great. Hence the spirit of intolerance, and the violence of undue restrictions, with the numerous train of ills which attend them.

So great is the influence of power, over the mind, that it leads, not only to a desire of tyranizing over the common rights of nature, but is equally bent on subjugating the intellectual system, and regulating it by the standard of self-sufficiency. Happy would it have been for all ages, if the zeal of example had accompanied the restrictions of wise laws, and confined the lives of counsellors and law-givers to the invariable standard of rectitude.

It is from the Chief Magistrate of a nation we are to look for the most influential examples of life, and it is in vain that the laws which he promotes, and the counsel which he offers, are the result of political wisdom and experience, so long as he violates their sanctity by contradictory practices. Nor is such a purity of deportment less indispensable in the highest station of the martial office. To employ the language of the Roman Orator, "What spotless inno-

cence is required in the character of a great General! What temperance in all circumstances of life! What untainted honor! What affability! What penetration! What fund of humanity!"

In all these requirements, how happily has he anticipated some of the leading characteristics of the American General, the first Chief Magistrate of the United States, and the hoary sage of Mount Vernon. But in addition to the pure merits of the Roman General, we may justly exclaim of our WASHINGTON, *What knowledge of the rights of nature and nations! What penetrating vigilance over the irregularities incident to the human mind! What christian sanctity!*

To the laws of nations he adhered with scrupulous integrity, and to those of his own country he was a pattern of the strictest obedience. His observance of religious and moral duty was unequivocal. He considered vice of every description to be incompatible with true patriotism, and his presence was a law of restraint upon the irregularities of the reprobate. Although his counsels were replete with candor and moderation, his example was rigid intolerance to every principle but that of rectitude.

In tracing the progress of those deeds of wisdom, patriotism and bravery, which have crowned his memory with unrivalled fame, we might descend to the first years of his youth, and point out those distinguishing characteristics of his early genius, which marked him as the rising pillar of our infant republic; but leaving this

to the better information of the hiſtorian, our attention is directed to the more important ſcenes of his devoted life.

When foreign kings were contending to whom the chaining of Americans ſhould eventually belong, WASHINGTON ſaw the affliction of his country. The French tyrant, and the fierce ſavage, had concerted our deſtruction. The Britiſh Pharaoh was determined to hold us in bondage. Our young hero's firſt attempt was to free us from the moſt formidable of theſe rival oppreſſors. This object he purſued, though in the heat of youth, and in a ſubordinate ſtation, with the wiſdom and firmneſs of age and experience. Fain would he have taught the unfortunate Braddock wiſdom to avoid the triumphs of the hideous enemy; but in vain were his efforts till that impetuous commander fell, when the guardian arm of the young warrior protected the ſcanty remains of the mangled army from ſavage deſtruction.

Soon his country calls him to a more exalted ſtation, and more dreadful ſcenes. The French tyrant had yielded, and the Britiſh miniſtry were riveting the laſt bolt of our bondage, when WASHINGTON again took the field. How many in this aſſembly retain freſh in their memories the horrors of Lexington and Bunker-hill, where many of the brave fell in the cauſe of their country. No ſooner had the tidings of our diſtreſſes reached the ear of our commander, than he haſtened to our aſſiſtance. At his preſence the ſpirits of our troops were revived to redoubled vigor. The enemy ſaw, in

his formidable operations, immediate deſtruction to their forces, and fled from our northern capital in terror and confuſion.

Having accompliſhed his deſigns in the north, the hoſtile operations of a powerful enemy on the coaſt of New-York demanded his immediate attention. This was a moſt diſtreſsful ſeaſon for the American Chief. Our undiſciplined troops were few and deſtitute. Hard was their conflict and weighty their ſufferings; but the zeal of their commander was alive in the cauſe of his country, his courage undaunted, and his reſolution unſhaken.

When the hopes of the enemy were now raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when our troops had evacuated their fortifications, and were waſted and worn down with the conflict of ſuperior numbers, WASHINGTON, ſupplying every defect by his genius and enterpriſe, animated the hardy few to the avenging battle. Neither the clouds of night, the violence of ſtorm and winter, nor the raging of the Delaware, could prevent his ſeaſonable attack; but diſregarding the oppoſition of contending elements, through all he bravely ſtruggled, and ſwept the hoſtile ſhore, with the chaſtiſing ſcourge of war.

Soon was the reputation of the American arms revived by his dauntleſs energy. Soon did his countrymen flock to his ſtandard, and the American forces became formidable. Through all the ranks his orders gave vigor and diſcipline, his preſence courage and invincibility. On the banks of the Brandywine, he

ſuſtained the charge of a ſuperior force, from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, undaunted. Next on the fields of Germantown, he ſallied forth upon the enemy's forces at the hour of night, and again conducted his ſpirited troops with the utmoſt addreſs. Though in this he claimed not the honor of victory, he was entitled to the merits of the ableſt generalſhip: The enemy were handled with warlike ſeverity, and his brave troops retained in high ſpirits.

Let us now follow him to the memorable plains of Monmouth; there he frowned the preſumptuous Lee from his preſence with a generous indignation, rallied his diſordered and retreating forces, and at the mouth of the cannon extorted the victory of the day.

But his views were bounded only by the expulſion of the invaders, and our total deliverance from the dominion of foreign uſurpers. Vaſt was the extent of his diſcernment. All the advantages which were attainable to our cauſe; all the important movements and deſigns of the hoſtile legions were within the ſphere of his comprehenſion. His plans concerted with matchleſs ſkill—his troops marſhalled for the finiſhing triumph—he ſeized the eventful moment—burſt upon the hoſtile bands, with the levelling thunder of his warring engines—they ſhrunk from the impetuoſity of his overwhelming legions, and the hard won laurels of the intrepid Cornwallis were proſtrated at the feet of the conquering WASHINGTON! This was the victory that awoke the ſtupid Monarch from his lethargy and the in-

fatuated dreams of his imaginary dominion. From the Britiſh to the American cabinet, peace echoed with the ſhout of independence. Our illuſtrious commander reſigned his authority, beſtowed the fruits of his labor upon his country, and retired with his fellow-citizens.

The martial ſcene thus cloſed, the affections of the people, for whom he had conquered, would not ſuffer him long to remain in undiſtinguiſhed retirement: With one voice, they called him to preſide in their national councils; ever obſequious to the will of his country, he accepted the important and honorary truſt. To what higher degree of eminence could the blaze of ambition aſpire? Yet, never did—*never could* ambition ſo highly ſurpaſs the brighteſt ſummit of human glory. Alexander might exult in his crimſoned laurels, and the ſplendor of a diadem; Cæſar might glitter in the trappings of licentious ſovereignty; Britiſh crowns might ſparkle with the borrowed luſtre of prerogative; but the glory of our WASHINGTON was his wiſdom and bravery, his ornaments of ſtate were the affections, the confidence and the gratitude, of his devoted and admiring countrymen.

Confirmed in our union by the bonds of confederacy, our conſtitution conſolidated the energies of our internal policy, and our Chief Magiſtrate was its principal ornament and ſupport.

When the fermentations of war and revolution in Europe, had furniſhed our coaſts with

multitudes of unprincipled incendiaries, the firm edict of neutrality was proclaimed through our realm. Too well the experienced patriot knew the price of independence and peace, to ſuffer his country to be abſorbed in the vortex of European war. Notwithſtanding the clamor of demagogues and the inſinuating wiles of the treacherous and deſigning, the peace and dignity of his country directed his ſteady mind to the reſolution, from which, all the efforts of plauſible artifice could neither divert nor deter him.

Every wheel in the political machine was plain to the view of his comprehenſive eye. He well ſaw the treacherous deſigns of proſtituted France, and determined that the blood of Americans ſhould never be ſpilt in her perfidious cauſe.

Thus by his unerring firmneſs, we ſtill continued to enjoy the bleſſing of peace. Preſſing were his deſires to return from the toils of public life, to the ſhades of domeſtic retirement; but the critical ſtate of our national intereſt, and the extreme anxiety he retained for our peace and happineſs, induced him again to receive our united ſuffrages. When the ſecond period of his adminiſtration drew to a cloſe, he took his final leave of the political ſcene of action, imploring the bleſſing of Heaven on the country which he could no longer ſerve. With the ſame magnanimity by which he aroſe to a ſummit of honor inacceſſible to every other mortal, he deſcended to the vale of his native retirement, exhibiting a dig-

nity of mind, and a reſplendence of character, equally unparalleled.

Retired from his toils, he ſhared in common with his countrymen, the enjoyment of thoſe rights, for the attaining and ſecuring of which, he had long exerted every power of body and mind, and, for the firſt time, experienced that delightful ſolitude, under the happy laws of his country, which was the favorite object of his deſires. But ſhort was this enjoyment: His country's rights were invaded by the treacherous republic of France and her emiſſaries, and the ſpirit of faction, violence and plunder, was ravaging our coaſts and raging in our cities. Could WASHINGTON outlive the powers of that arm, which had ſo long ſuſtained the ſword of victory? Could he have life to ſee his country injured, and the lawleſs aſſailants paſs with impunity? No. Again he determined to rid us of our enemies—again reſolved to avenge the cauſe of injured juſtice; but the mandate of Heaven interpoſed——Of his ſervices, man could aſk no more——He had fulfilled the demands of time, in aiding us to the free poſſeſſion of our rights, inſpiring his countrymen with the moſt lively and reverential ſenſe of the bleſſings of public and private virtue, exhibiting an eminent example to every claſs, from the Chief Magiſtrate to the private citizen, and in fervently recommending the country, for which he conquered, to the protection of the GOD, whom he ſerved.

The ſun of his life has gone down with meridian ſplendor; its parting rays have caſt the deep ſhade of mourning on the American empire; but the higheſt conſolation accompanies the memory of his ineſtimable virtues, and the fond belief, that his laſt retirement was to that peaceful dominion of ſpirits, *where the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and the weary are at reſt.*

WASHINGTON's LEGACY:

BEING HIS ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE *UNITED STATES*,

ON DECLINING BEING CONSIDERED A CANDIDATE FOR THEIR FUTURE SUFFRAGES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness: But am suppos-

ed by a full conviction that the ſtep is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your ſuffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform ſacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your deſire. I conſtantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, conſiſtently with motives, which I was not at liberty to diſregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The ſtrength of my inclination to do this, previous to the laſt election, had even led to the preparation of an addreſs to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical poſture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of perſons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the ſtate of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the purſuit of inclination incompatible with the ſentiment of duty, or propriety: And am perſuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my ſervices, that in the preſent circumſtances of our country, you will not diſapprove my determination to retire.

The impreſſions with which I firſt undertook the arduous truſt, were explained on the proper occaſion. In the diſcharge of this truſt, I will only ſay, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and adminiſtration of the government, the beſt exertions of which a very fallible judgment was ca-

pable. Not unconſcious, in the outſet, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps ſtill more in the eyes of others, has ſtrengthened the motives to diffidence of myſelf: And every day the increaſing weight of years admoniſhes me more and more, that the ſhade of retirement is as neceſſary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that if any circumſtances have given peculiar value to my ſervices, they were temporary, I have the conſolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political ſcene, patriotiſm does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to ſuſpend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; ſtill more for the ſteadfaſt confidence with which it has ſupported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifeſting my inviolable attachment by ſervices faithful and perſevering, though in uſefulneſs unequal to my zeal. If benefits have reſulted to our country from theſe ſervices, let it always be remembered to our praiſe, and as an inſtructive example in our annals, that under circumſtances in which the paſſions, agitated in every direction, were liable to miſlead, amidſt appearances ſometimes dubious, viciſſitudes of fortune, often diſcouraging, in ſituations in which not unfrequently want of ſucceſs has countenanced the ſpirit of criticiſm—the conſtancy of your ſupport was

the eſſential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I ſhall carry it with me to my grave, as a ſtrong incitement to unceaſing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choiceſt tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free Conſtitution, which is the work of your hands, may be ſacredly maintained—that its adminiſtration in every department may be ſtamped with wiſdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happineſs of the people of theſe ſtates, under the auſpices of liberty, may be made complete, by ſo careful a preſervation and ſo prudent a uſe of this bleſſing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applauſe, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a ſtranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to ſtop. But a ſolicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehenſion of danger natural to that ſolicitude, urge me on an occaſion like the preſent, to offer to your ſolemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, ſome ſentiments, which are the reſult of much reflection, of no inconſiderable obſervation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. Theſe will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only ſee in them the diſintereſted warnings of a parting friend, who can poſſibly have no perſonal motive to bias his counſel. Nor can I forget as an encourage-

ment to it, your indulgent reception of my ſentiments on a former and not diſſimilar occaſion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is neceſſary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which conſtitutes you one people, is alſo now dear to you. It is juſtly ſo; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the ſupport of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your ſafety; of your proſperity; of that very liberty which you ſo highly prize. But, as it is eaſy to foreſee, that from different cauſes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortreſs, againſt which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be moſt conſtantly and actively (though often covertly and inſidiouſly) directed, it is of infinite moment that you ſhould properly eſtimate the immenſe value of your national union, to your collective and individual happineſs; that you ſhould cheriſh a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accuſtoming yourſelves to think and ſpeak of it as of the palladium of your political ſafety and proſperity; watching for its preſervation with jealous anxiety; diſcountenancing whatever may ſuggeſt even a ſuſpicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the firſt dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the reſt, or to en-

feeble the ſacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of ſympathy and intereſt. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, muſt always exalt the juſt pride of patriotiſm, more than any appellation derived from local diſcriminations. With ſlight ſhades of difference, you have the ſame religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cauſe fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you poſſeſs are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, ſufferings and ſucceſſes.

But theſe conſiderations, however powerfully they addreſs themſelves to your ſenſibility, are greatly outweighed by thoſe which apply more immediately to your intereſt. Here every portion of our country finds the moſt commanding motives for carefully guarding and preſerving the union of the whole.

The *North* in an unreſtrained intercourſe with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the production of the latter, great additional reſources of maritime and commercial enterpriſe, and precious materials of manufacturing induſtry. The *South* in the ſame intercourſe, benefitting by the agency of the *North*, ſees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the ſeamen of the *North*, it

finds its particular navigation invigorated ; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East* in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security, from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations ; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so

frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the ſame government; which their own rivalſhips alone would be ſufficient to produce, but which oppoſite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would ſtimulate and embitter. Hence likewiſe they will avoid the neceſſity of thoſe overgrown military eſtabliſhments, which under any form of government are inauſpicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hoſtile to Republican Liberty: In this ſenſe it is, that your union ought to be conſidered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preſervation of the other.

Theſe conſiderations ſpeak a perſuaſive language to every reflecting aud virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of a patriotic deſire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace ſo large a ſphere?—Let experience ſolve it. To liſten to mere ſpeculation in ſuch a caſe were criminal. We are authoriſed to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the reſpective ſubdiviſions, will afford a happy iſſue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With ſuch powerful and obvious motives to the union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience ſhall not have demonſtrated its impracticability, there will always be reaſon to diſtruſt the patriotiſm of thoſe, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the cauſes which may diſturb our union, it occurs as a matter of ſerious concern, that any ground ſhould have been furniſhed for characteriſing parties, by geographical diſcriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Weſtern*; whence deſigning men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local intereſts and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular diſtricts, is to miſrepreſent the opinions and aims of other diſtricts. You cannot ſhield yourſelves too much againſt the jealouſies and heart burnings which ſpring from theſe miſrepreſentations; they tend to render alien to each other thoſe who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our weſtern country have lately had a uſeful leſſon on this head:—They have ſeen, in the negociation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the univerſal ſatisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a deciſive proof how unfounded were the ſuſpicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their intereſts in regard to the Miſſiſſippi; they have been witneſſes to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain and that with Spain, which ſecure to them every thing they could deſire, in reſpect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their proſperity. Will it not be their wiſdom to rely for the preſervation of theſe advantages on the union by which they were procured?

Will they not henceforth be deaf to thoſe adviſers, if ſuch they are, who would ſever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indiſpenſable. No alliances, however ſtrict, between the parts can be an adequate ſubſtitute; they will inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced—Senſible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your firſt eſſay, by the adoption of a conſtitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full inveſtigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the diſtribution of its powers, uniting ſecurity with energy, and containing within itſelf a proviſion for its own amendment, has a juſt claim to your confidence and your ſupport. Reſpect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquieſcence in its meaſures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The baſis of our political ſyſtems is the right of the people to make and to alter their conſtitutions of government. But, the conſtitution which at any time exiſts, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is ſacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to eſtabliſh government,

pre-ſuppoſes the duty of every individual to to obey the eſtabliſhed government.

All obſtructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and aſſociations, under whatever plauſible character, with the real deſign to direct, controul, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the conſtituted authorities, are deſtructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They ſerve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a ſmall but artful and enterpriſing minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public adminiſtration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of conſiſtent and wholeſome plans, digeſted by common councils and modified by mutual intereſts.

However combinations or aſſociations of the above deſcription, may now and then anſwer popular ends, they are likely in the courſe of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to ſubvert the power of the people and to uſurp for themſelves the reins of government; deſtroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjuſt dominion.

Towards the preſervation of your government, and the permanency of your preſent happy ſtate, it is requiſite, not only that you ſteadily diſcountenance irregular oppoſitions to its

acknowledged authority, but alſo that you reſiſt with care, the ſpirit of innovation upon its principles, however ſpecious the pretexts. One method of aſſault may be to effect, in the forms of the conſtitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the ſyſtem, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at leaſt as neceſſary to fix the true character of government, as of other human inſtitutions; that experience is the ſureſt ſtandard, by which to teſt the real tendency of the exiſting conſtitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of more hypotheſis and opinion, expoſes to perpetual change, from the endleſs variety of hypotheſis and opinion; and remember, eſpecially, that for the efficient management of your common intereſt, in a country ſo extenſive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is conſiſtent with the perfect ſecurity of liberty is indiſpenſable. Liberty itſelf will find in ſuch a government, with powers properly diſtributed and adjuſted, its ſureſt guardian. It is, indeed, little elſe than a name, where the government is too feeble to withſtand the enterpriſes of faction, to confine each member of the ſociety within the limits preſcribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the ſecure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of perſon and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the ſtate, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical diſcriminations. Let me now take a more com-

prehenſive view and warn you in the moſt ſolemn manner againſt the baneful effects of a ſpirit of party, generally.

This ſpirit, unfortunately, is inſeparable from our nature, having its root in the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the human mind. It exiſts under different ſhapes in all governments—more or leſs ſtifled, controuled, or repreſſed; but in thoſe of the popular form, it is ſeen in its greateſt rankneſs and is truly their worſt enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, ſharpened by the ſpirit of revenge, natural to party diſſention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the moſt horrid enormities, is itſelf a frightful deſpotiſm—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent deſpotiſm. The diſorders and miſeries, which reſult, gradually incline the minds of men to ſeek ſecurity and repoſe in the abſolute power of an individual; and ſooner or later the chief of ſome prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this diſpoſition to the purpoſes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheleſs ought not to be entirely out of ſight) the common and continual miſchiefs of the ſpirit of party are ſufficient to make it the intereſt and duty of a wiſe people to diſcourage and reſtrain it.

It ſerves always to diſtract the public councils and enfeeble the public adminiſtration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealouſies and falſe alarms; kindles the animoſity

of one part againſt another, foments occaſionally riot and inſurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated acceſs to the government itſelf through the channels of party paſſions. Thus the policy and will of one country are ſubjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are uſeful checks upon the adminiſtration of the government, and ſerve to keep alive the ſpirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical caſt, patriotiſm may look with indulgence, if not with favor upon the ſpirit of party. But in thoſe of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a ſpirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that ſpirit for every ſalutary purpoſe. And there being conſtant danger of exceſs, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and aſſuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its burſting into a flame, leſt inſtead of warming it ſhould conſume.

It is important likewiſe, that the habits of thinking in a free country, ſhould inſpire caution in thoſe entruſted with its adminiſtration, to confine themſelves within their reſpective conſtitutional ſpheres, avoiding in the exerciſe of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The ſpirit of encroachment tends to conſolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever

the form of government, a real deſpotiſm. A juſt eſtimate of that love of power, and proneneſs to abuſe it, which predominates in the human heart is ſufficient to ſatisfy us of the truth of this poſition. The neceſſity of reciprocal checks in the exerciſe of political power; by dividing and diſtributing it into different depoſitories, and conſtituting each the guardian of the public weal againſt invaſions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; ſome of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preſerve them muſt be as neceſſary as to inſtitute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the diſtribution or modification of the conſtitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way, which the conſtitution deſignates—But let there be no change by uſurpation; for though this, in one inſtance, may be the inſtrument of good, it is the cuſtomary weapon by which free governments are deſtroyed—The precedent muſt always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or tranſient benefit which the uſe can at any time yield.

Of all the diſpoſitions and habits which lead to political proſperity, Religion and Morality are indiſpenſable ſupports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotiſm, who ſhould labor to ſubvert theſe great pillars of human happineſs, theſe firmeſt props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man ought to reſpect and to cheriſh them.—A volume could not trace all their con-

nections with private and public felicity. Let it ſimply be aſked where is the ſecurity for property, for reputation, for life, if the ſenſe of religious obligation deſert the oaths which are the inſtruments of inveſtigation in courts of juſtice?—And let us with caution indulge the ſuppoſition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded of the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar ſtructure; reaſon and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in excluſion of religious principle.

It is ſubſtantially true, that virtue or morality is a neceſſary ſpring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or leſs force to every ſpecies of free government. Who that is a ſincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to ſhake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then as an object of primary importance, inſtitutions for the general diffuſion of knowledge. In proportion as the ſtructure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is eſſential that public opinion ſhould be enlightened.

As a very important ſource of ſtrength and ſecurity, cheriſh public credit—One method of preſerving it is to uſe it as ſparingly as poſſible; avoiding occaſions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering alſo that timely diſburſements to prepare for dangers, frequently prevent much greater diſburſements to repel it: Avoiding likewiſe the accumulation

of debt, not only by ſhunning occaſions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to diſcharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occaſioned, not ungenerouſly throwing upon poſterity the burthen which we ourſelves ought to bear. The execution of theſe maxims belongs to your repreſentatives, but it is neceſſary that public opinion ſhould co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is eſſential that you ſhould practicably bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there muſt be revenue;—that to have revenue there muſt be taxes—that no taxes can be deviſed, which are not more or leſs inconvenient or unpleaſant—that the intrinſic embarraſſment inſeparable from the ſelection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties)—ought to be a deciſive motive for a candid conſtruction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a ſpirit of acquieſcence in the meaſures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Obſerve good faith and juſtice towards all nations—cultivate peace and harmony with all—religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no diſtant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted juſtice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the courſe of time and things, the fruits of ſuch a plan would richly repay any

temporary advantages which might be loſt by a ſteady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at leaſt, is recommended by every ſentiment which enobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impoſſible by its vices?

In the execution of ſuch a plan, nothing is more eſſential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies againſt particular nations, and paſſionate attachments for others ſhould be excluded; and that in the place of them, juſt and amicable feelings towards all ſhould be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondneſs, is in ſome degree a ſlave. It is a ſlave to its animoſity or to its affection, either of which is ſufficient to lead it aſtray from its duty and its intereſt. Antipathy in one nation againſt another diſpoſes each more readily to offer inſult and injury, to lay hold of ſlight cauſes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occaſions of diſpute occur.

Hence frequent colliſions, obſtinate, envenomed and bloody conteſts. The nation, prompted by ill will and reſentment, ſometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the beſt calculations of policy. The government ſometimes participates in the national propenſity, and adopts through paſſion what reaſon would reject; at other times, it makes the animoſity of the nation ſubſervient to projects of hoſtility, inſtigated by pride, ambition, and oth-

er ſiniſter and pernicious motives. The peace often, ſometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewiſe a paſſionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nations, facilitating the illuſion of an imaginary common intereſt, in caſes where no real common intereſt exiſts, and infuſing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or juſtification. It leads alſo to conceſſions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the conceſſions, by unneceſſarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealouſy, ill will, and a diſpoſition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld :— And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themſelves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or ſacrifice the intereſts of their own country, without odium, ſometimes even with popularity ; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous ſenſe of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the baſe or fooliſh compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, ſuch attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domeſtic factions, to prac-

tice the arts of ſeduction, to miſlead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a ſmall or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the ſatellite of the latter.

Againſt the inſidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealouſy of a free people ought to be *conſtantly* awake; ſince hiſtory and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the moſt baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealouſy to be uſeful muſt be impartial; elſe it becomes the inſtrument of the very influence to be avoided, inſtead of a defence againſt it. Exceſſive partiality for one foreign nation, and exceſſive diſlike of another, cauſe thoſe whom they actuate to ſee danger only on one ſide, and ſerve to veil and even ſecond the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may reſiſt the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become ſuſpected and odious; while its tools and dupes uſurp the applauſe and confidence of the people, to ſurrender their intereſts.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as poſſible. So far as we have alreay formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us ſtop.

Europe has a ſet of primary intereſts, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence ſhe muſt be engaged in frequent contro-

verſies, the cauſes of which are eſſentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore, it muſt be unwiſe in us to implicate ourſelves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary viciſſitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and colliſions of her friendſhips or enmities.

Our detached ſituation invites and enables us to purſue a different courſe. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take ſuch an attitude as will cauſe the neutrality, we may at any time reſolve upon, to be ſcrupulouſly reſpected; when belligerent nations, under the impoſſibility of making acquiſitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may chooſe peace or war, as our intereſt, guided by juſtice, ſhall counſel.

Why forego the advantages of ſo peculiar a ſituation? Why quit our own, to ſtand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our deſtiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and proſperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalſhip, intereſt, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to ſteer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; ſo far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be underſtood as capable of patroniſing infidelity to exiſting engagements. I hold the maxim no leſs applicable to public than to private affairs, that honeſty is always the beſt policy. I repeat it, there-

fore, let thoſe engagements be obſerved in their genuine ſenſe. But, in my opinion, it is unneceſſary, and would be unwiſe to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourſelves, by ſuitable eſtabliſhments, on a reſpectable defenſive poſture, we may ſafely truſt to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourſe with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and intereſt. But even our commercial policy ſhould hold an equal and impartial hand; neither ſeeking nor granting exclufive favors of preferences—conſulting the natural courſe of things; diffuſing and diverſifying by gentle means the ſtreams of commerce, but forcing nothing; eſtabliſhing, with powers ſo diſpoſed, in order to give trade a ſtable courſe, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to ſupport them; conventional rules of intercourſe, the beſt that preſent circumſtances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience or circumſtances ſhall dictate; conſtantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for diſintereſted favors from another; that it muſt pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by ſuch acceptance, it may place itſelf in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error, than to expect, or calculate, upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illuſion, which

experience muſt cure, which a juſt pride ought to diſcard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, theſe counſels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the ſtrong and laſting impreſſion I could wiſh—that they will controul the uſual current of the paſſions, or prevent our nation from running the courſe which has hitherto marked the deſtiny of nations: But if I may even flatter myſelf, that they may be productive of ſome partial benefit, ſome occaſional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party ſpirit, to warn againſt the miſchiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard againſt the impoſtures of pretended patriotiſm;—this hope will be a full recompenſe for the ſolicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the diſcharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct muſt witneſs to you and to the world. To myſelf, the aſſurance of my own conſcience is, that I have at leaſt believed myſelf to be guided by them.

In relation to the ſtill ſubſiſting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Repreſentatives in both Houſes of Congreſs, the ſpirit of that meaſure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the beſt lights I could obtain, I was well ſatisfied that our country, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and intereſt to take a neutral poſition. Having taken it, I determined, as far as ſhould depend on me, to maintain it with moderation, perſeverance and firmneſs.

The conſiderations, which reſpect the right to hold this conduct, it is not neceſſary on this occaſion to detail. I will only obſerve, that according to my underſtanding of the matter, that right, ſo far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which juſtice and humanity impoſe on every nation, in caſes in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of intereſt for obſerving that conduct will beſt be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to ſettle and mature its yet recent inſtitutions, and to progreſs without interruption, to that degree of ſtrength and conſiſtency, which is neceſſary to give it, humanly ſpeaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my adminiſtration, I am unconſcious of intentional error; I am nevertheleſs too ſenſible of my

defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beſeech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils, to which they may tend. I ſhall alſo carry with me the hope, that my country will never ceaſe to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its ſervice, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities, will be conſigned to oblivion, as myſelf muſt ſoon be to the manſions of reſt.

Relying on its kindneſs in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is ſo natural to a man, who views in it the native ſoil of himſelf and his progenitors for ſeveral generations; I anticipate with pleaſing expectation that retreat, in which I promiſe myſelf to realize, without alloy, the ſweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midſt of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I truſt, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

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